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CARTER G. WOODSON
Editor

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THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO HISTORY

VOL. XIV—JANUARY, 1929—No. 1

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF NEGRO LIFE AND HISTORY HELD IN ST. LOUIS, MIS- SOURI, OCTOBER 21 TO 25, 1928

The Annual Meeting in St. Louis was the first held as far west as the Mississippi River. The representatives of the Association in that section were very desirous of having the meeting held at that central point to impress more deeply upon the people there the importance of the work now being prosecuted by the Association. Such interest was manifested especially among the friends of the cause in Kansas City, Des Moines, Indianapolis, Chicago, and Cleveland. Places in the East which have heretofore been favored with these meetings were willing to concede this point in the interest of those who have hitherto come from afar.

As predicted, too, the meeting was very successful. There was a representative attendance from the cities and towns nearby, and a considerable number of persons came from afar to participate in this conference. Persons came from places as distant as Texas, Georgia, and New England. The meeting was especially favored, too, in having the coöperation of a number of public functionaries who

designated persons as representatives to this convention. Such was the case of Mrs. Jannie L. Maxwell from Winston-Salem, North Carolina; Mrs. J. H. B. Evans, representing the teachers of Atlanta, Georgia; Mr. G. C. Wilkinson, sent by the teachers and educational bodies of the District of Columbia; and Mrs. Lena Trent Gordon by the Mayor of Philadelphia and the branch of the Association in that city. It was significant, too, that Washington University designated as its representative Prof. Frank J. Bruno of its Department of Sociology; the Board of Education of Cleveland, Mr. Alonzo G. Grace, Director of the Department of Adult Education, and an instructor at the Western Reserve University; and the University of Illinois, Prof. Donald R. Taft, of the Department of Sociology.

The people of St. Louis were thoroughly appreciative of the efforts of the Association and endeavored in every way possible to make the visitors welcome. The College Women's Club entertained the visitors at a Sunday afternoon tea on the 21st. The professional and business men likewise showed their hospitality in entertaining the delegates at a very elaborate Get-Acquainted Dinner at the Pine Street Branch Y.M.C.A. on Monday evening. Poro College served the visitors a sumptuous luncheon the last day. Various other groups arranged special functions which gave further evidence of the hospitality of this western city and made the stay of the representatives most comfortable and enjoyable throughout the week.

The first session was the Women's Negro History Mass Meeting held in the afternoon on Sunday, the 21st, at the Central Baptist Church, Ewing and Washington Avenues. The meeting was well attended by the people of the city, especially so by the ladies who, having charge of the meeting, had advertised it extensively among their clubs which had shown keen interest in popularizing the study of Negro history in the schools. Miss Arsanias Williams, the head of the Women's Clubs of St. Louis, presided. Three persons addressed the meeting. The first speaker was Mrs. Sallie

W. Stewart, president of the National Federation of Colored Women. She made a most forceful presentation of "Serious Thoughts on Race Appreciation." Going back to Africa, she discussed the elements of culture developed by the natives and traced the survivals in America now coming into the proper recognition of their worth. Mrs. Stewart was followed by Mrs. Myrtle Foster Cook, chairman of the History Department of the National Association of Colored Women. Mrs. Cook intelligently discussed the women's part in popularizing Negro history, and outlined the program which she believes should be followed by clubs throughout the country. The last speaker on the program was Dr. Carter G. Woodson, Director of the Association. His address, "Negro History as an Objective," was the sequel to the thought already advanced by the preceding speakers, a series of suggestions as to how to bring to pass many of the things expressed as desirable. The Reverend D. R. Clark, the president of the St. Louis Branch of the Association, made appropriate remarks with respect to the success of that particular session and outlined the activities to follow.

These addresses were interspersed with most beautiful music by the Philharmonic Singers, directed by Mr. C. S. Tocus, and other fine numbers by the Treble Clef Club of that city, directed by Miss Daisy Westbrook. Other selections were rendered in the same charming style at various sessions by the Choir of All Saints Church, the Young Ladies' Glee Club, directed by Miss Grazia Corneal, by Miss Letha Tyndall, Mrs. Jeannette Brown, and Mr. R. Edward Bolden.

The Get-Acquainted Dinner at 5:30 p.m. on Monday was worthy of its name. Before the repast had advanced very far, Mr. Robert P. Watts, the secretary of the St. Louis Branch, began to discharge his function as toastmaster. In an address of much warmth and enthusiasm, Mr. H. K. Craft, of St. Louis, welcomed the visitors. He was followed by Mrs. Lena Trent Gordon. Most impres-

sive remarks were made by Mrs. Joseph H. B. Evans in reporting what is being done in Atlanta, Georgia, to stimulate the study of Negro life and history and how kindly disposed the superintendent has been toward this work. There was noted also the presence of Mr. Beede, of Richmond, Indiana, representing the Friends, and that of the Reverend Mr. Williams of the same sect in Kansas City, Missouri. As the occasion was not appropriate for remarks from all visitors, the time was devoted to a formal introduction that the affair might be in every sense a get-acquainted dinner.

Immediately following this function came the Musical Festival at the Vashon High School. On this occasion Dr. N. B. Young, State Supervisor of Schools of Missouri, presided. The affair opened with a brief and informing address on the "Achievements of the Negro in Music," by Mr. Otto L. Bohanan, director of Music in the St. Louis Public Schools. Then came the presentation of the artists who were to give an interpretation of Negro music by selections from composers of African blood. The first to appear on the program was Mrs. Florence Cole-Talbert, the noted mezzo-soprano. She was followed by Mr. Clarence Cameron White, the famous violinist-composer. In this way they alternated, each appearing three times on the program, which closed with the singing of the Negro national hymn, "Lift Every Voice and Sing."

The artists were at their best in this performance before an audience composed of various groups. It was well attended and highly appreciated by those who were able to be accommodated in the auditorium. Many hundreds were turned away. The affair proved to be thoroughly impressive as to this important achievement of the Negro in one of the fine arts. It served at the same time to inform the public of an objective of the Association in making this concrete demonstration of what the Negro has thought and felt and attempted and accomplished.

The next assembly of delegates and representatives for

discussion of aspects of Negro life and history took place at 10:30 A.M. Tuesday at the Central Baptist Church. There all of the remaining sessions of the conference were held. Mr. Garnet C. Wilkinson, First Assistant Superintendent of Schools of the District of Columbia, presided. In taking the chair he brought greetings from the Association of Teachers in the District of Columbia. He expressed also his interest and that of his coworkers in the work now being done by the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History. After devoting a short period to the registration of representatives and the introduction of visitors, Mr. Matthias Nolcox, principal of the Crispus Attucks High School, of Indianapolis, was introduced to deliver an address on "Trained Leadership." The discourse was thoroughly prepared and delivered in a very instructive manner. The speaker connected the thought of trained leadership with things of today to make the presentation concrete rather than abstract.

Mr. Nolcox was followed by Mr. W. Sherman Savage, head of the Department of History, Lincoln University, Jefferson City, Missouri. Mr. Savage discussed the educational problem in the establishment of the first Negro schools in that State. His address elicited various comments on schools in general immediately after the Civil War and a comparison of this undertaking with that of other States. Following Mr. Savage, came Prof. Donald R. Taft, of the Department of Sociology, of the University of Illinois. Prof. Taft spoke on the "Cultural Opportunities through Race Contacts." He undertook to define culture and to show that it may be obtained not by concentrating one's efforts on one's self or his particular group, but by coming into contact with various races and peoples in different situations and from distant parts of the world.

According to arrangement, a number of visitors were assigned to the schools of the city to carry a message of Negro achievement to the teachers and student bodies. At

1:30 P.M. a large number went to the Vashon and the Sumner High Schools. Among those thus addressing these institutions were Mr. Garnet C. Wilkinson, Mrs. Lena Trent Gordon, Dr. N. B. Young, and Dr. Carter G. Woodson.

At 3:30 P.M. the same day the "Community Background of the Negro School" was the topic of discussion. Dr. Thomas E. Jones, president of Fisk University, presided. Before introducing the speakers he undertook to point out certain things which serve as determinants in the formation of the character of students. He had in mind especially the school of today with respect to moral instruction. Dr. Jones introduced Mr. B. G. Shackelford, director of School and Community Relations in St. Louis, to discuss the bearing of occupations. Mr. Shackelford was very enthusiastic in his account of the work being done for the good of the Negro and expressed his keen interest in the uplift of the community through the improvement of the people living in it.

After Mr. Shackelford came Dr. Edward J. Davis, a physician of the St. Louis Board of Education. He delivered a well prepared address on "Health with Respect to the Schools." While his remarks were a report of his experience as an officer of the St. Louis Board of Education he brought forward the solution of many problems which have not been cleared up in other parts of the country. Unusual interest was expressed in this address and there have been various requests for copies of it.

The topics were then open for general discussion. The first speaker to engage therein was Prof. Frank J. Bruno of Washington University. He devoted most of his time to defining community. He endeavored to show also the change in the aspect of the community as a result of urbanization and the concentration of population. Mr. J. H. Purnell also made remarks with respect to the factors in the community which have a direct bearing upon the school.

At the evening session the central thought was the "Economic Status of the Negro." Mr. J. H. Purnell, of the St.

Louis Public Schools, presided. The first speaker was Mr. J. A. Jackson, of the United States Department of Commerce. His special task has been to encourage the development of retail business among Negroes. He spoke of the necessity for such work and what is now being done by the Department of Commerce for this particular thing. Mr. Jackson was followed by Mr. F. B. Ransom, manager of the Madame C. J. Walker Manufacturing Company, who made a most impressive address in reviewing the plight of the Negro in various occupations and his prospects as determined by present economic forces in this country.

Mr. A. G. Lindsay was the next to appear. He spoke on the "Negro in Banking," sketching the rise of these institutions since emancipation, their struggles, their failures and their successes. He asserted that experience has shown that Negro banking is more successful when it assumes the form of an industrial loan enterprise. The meeting closed with an address on the "Present Situation of the Negro Laborer," by Prof. Charles S. Johnson, of Fisk University. This discourse was most appropriate to follow those of the preceding gentlemen, for he showed especially wherein the laboring man has always been the factor upon whom the large institutions depend, and he explained also how the present situation of Negro labor largely determines the status of Negro enterprise.

On Wednesday morning at 10:30 A.M. "Negroes and Mixed Breeds" became the topic for discussion. The Director of the Association presided. Taking the chair, he undertook to show what is being done by research to clear up this long neglected history and how important it is to know the extent to which the Negro has interbred with the other races in America. Prof. J. H. Johnston, of the Virginia Normal and Industrial Institute, was then presented to discuss, "The Negroes and Indians in the United States." Having devoted himself exclusively to the study of this particular aspect of Negro history for the last five years, he proved to be a very informing speaker. He had

not only facts to present, but the power of discrimination to select for discussion only those aspects which might interest a large audience and at the same time present the point of view required. The address was very elaborate and made a most favorable impression both with respect to the importance of the topic and the ability of the investigator.

The speaker scheduled to discuss "Plateau, an African Community near Mobile, Alabama," could not be present, but a general report was made of the work being done by the American Folklore Society, the Department of Anthropology at Columbia University, and the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History through the services of Miss Zora Neale Hurston, who has made several trips to the community and has studied the situation from both the historical and the anthropological points of view.

At the Business Session of the Association at 1:30 p.m. the administrative officers made their annual reports. These proved to be very informing with respect to the work undertaken and the results accomplished. The reports were favorably received, and the body expressed its appreciation by a vote of thanks for the unselfish work which the administrative officers of this Association had accomplished. These officers were then reelected for another year. Then came forward plans for the future. Among these may be mentioned the prospects for new fields for research, the necessary funds to prosecute this work, and the investigators who may be employed to undertake it. No definite decision could be reached with respect to either, inasmuch as such projects will be determined by funds to be raised by the Association; but much interest was expressed in raising such funds that the program of the Association may be expanded and thoroughly carried out. There came up also the question as to the next meeting, and preference was expressed in favor of Washington, D.C., for October, 1929.

At 3:30 p.m. came the session devoted to the "Negro

in the Professions.” Mr. George L. Vaughn, a member of the St. Louis Bar, presided. In a brief manner he discussed the Negro in the higher pursuits and praised the efforts of the Association to direct attention to this particular element in the group. He brought forward also some thought as to certain aspects of the Negro in the professions which may be prosecuted and which will decidedly inform the public about the achievements of scholarly and industrious practitioners not generally known.

“The Present Situation of the Negro Lawyer and Negro Legal Education” to be presented by Prof. Charles H. Houston of the Howard University Law School was read by Mr. Harry Garner, of the St. Louis Bar, inasmuch as Prof. Houston could not be present on account of illness. The paper was a most interesting one in giving the results of Prof. Houston’s research with respect to the Negro lawyer. As this was merely a sample of the unfinished survey the paper left the impression that the complete report will mark an epoch in the study of this profession. Dr. W. P. Curtis then discussed the “Negro Physician in his Community Setting.” His address was both historical and professional. He tried to show the importance of the position of the Negro physician in the community and what his efforts and achievements have done to inspire the Negro youth since the emancipation of the race.

The last discussion of the afternoon was the “Negro Preacher Socially and Economically Considered,” by Dr. O. C. Maxwell of the First Baptist Church of St. Louis. Dr. Maxwell discussed the question *pro* and *con*. He showed wherein some communities have looked upon the Negro preacher as antisocial and as a sort of economic handicap. He brought forward facts, however, to prove that the Negro minister is beneficial in the uplift of the community and he has been the greatest economic factor that the race has ever had, as is shown by the number of business establishments like banks and insurance companies which have developed as the result of the enterprise of the

Negro preacher. Prof. U. S. Donaldson, who participated in the general discussion of the topic, entertained the audience for some time on the question of proper selection and guidance in the matter of choosing a profession. Mr. W. E. Griffin of the Kansas City Branch of the Association made appropriate remarks on the efficiency of Negro professional men and raised the question as to whether or not more success could be obtained if their efficiency were increased. Mrs. A. V. Weston of Paducah, Kentucky, when called upon had something to say on this topic open for discussion but made a favorable impression in giving a report as to what is being done in her section of Kentucky to promote the study of Negro life and history.

The closing session of the Annual Meeting at 8:00 P.M. on Wednesday had for its topic "The Negro Abroad." Bishop R. A. Carter of the C.M.E. Church of Chicago, Illinois, presided. In an introductory discourse he spoke briefly of the situation of the Negro in this country as it is influenced by those abroad and tried to show how the progress of the Negro abroad has affected the Negro in this country. He then introduced Prof. J. E. Matheus, of the West Virginia Collegiate Institute, to discuss "The Negro in Haiti." Having just returned from that island where he spent much time in studying the conditions of the natives, Prof. Matheus could speak not only of the past of Haiti but also of the present. He discussed the conditions obtaining prior to the intervention and the various developments since that time. The different factors in the present complex situation in Haiti were also ably treated.

The closing address was "The Negro in Africa," by Prof. Rayford W. Logan, of Virginia Union University. This discourse was developed from Prof. Logan's particular interest in Liberia, and his study of the Mandates System in Africa. He devoted most of his time, however, to the discussion of Liberia and Abyssinia with respect to foreign intervention. He deplores the fact that Italy is building a railroad in Abyssinia and that Firestone is op-

erating under a concession in Liberia. His view of the situation is very pessimistic in expressing the belief that these changes mean the passing of the last of free Africa.

On Thursday the delegates remaining in the city assembled at the Central Baptist Church and went in a body to visit points of historic interest. Mrs. Malone and other citizens kindly placed at their disposal a number of the best automobiles available. After visiting such places as the Botanical Gardens, the River Front Industries, the People's Finance Building, Poro College, and the Jefferson Memorial Building, the visitors proceeded to Alton, Illinois, to see the tomb of Elijah P. Lovejoy. This was a fitting climax of the meeting to bow at the shrine of this unusual man who gave his life as a sacrifice for free speech and the abolition of slavery. The visitors were most deeply impressed with the inscription from these of his words: "If the laws of my country fail to protect me I shall appeal to my God and with him I shall rest my cause. I can die at my post, but I cannot desert it."

CULTURAL OPPORTUNITIES THROUGH RACE CONTACTS*

It is an honor and a pleasure to be here. It is an honor to be invited to speak to a group who have contributed so much to our understanding of a neglected source of culture—the culture of the Negro. It is a pleasure to have this opportunity to make for myself contacts with men and women whose lives and backgrounds are sufficiently different from my own to afford unusual cultural values. I wish I might be here a long time for that purpose.

I wish that I might make here an original contribution to our understanding of Negro culture. Instead I am merely to try to summarize and interpret some of the work of others. In one way I could hardly have selected a topic less appropriate to this occasion than my topic this morning—"cultural opportunities through race contacts." For there are few groups which appreciate as well as you do that all races contribute to culture. My remarks might more fittingly be addressed to my colleagues and students at the University. For unfortunately not every student there looks upon the gathering of fellow students of all races and nationalities as his supreme opportunity to acquire culture. Indeed we sometimes find there, as elsewhere, evidence of narrowness of view and race prejudice. To find such narrowness even at an institution for higher learning is most discouraging. On the other hand, your conference here is correspondingly encouraging. I confess that I am alternately pessimistic and optimistic on race questions. I am like the two Scotchmen who met on the street in the old country. The following colloquy ensued: "How are yu?" "Not so good, not so good; I'm married." "Oh dot's bad, dot's bad." "Not so bad—she had money." "Oh, dot's good, dot's good." "Not so good,—

* This address was delivered in St. Louis at the annual meeting of the Association on October 23, 1928.

we spent it.” “Oh, dot’s bad, dot’s bad.” “Not so bad—built a hoose.” “Oh, dot’s good, dot’s good.” “Not so good—it burned doon.” “Oh, dot’s bad, dot’s bad.” “Not so bad—she was in it!”—So you see there is comfort in every situation. And while my remarks may seem less needed here than elsewhere; and while this is a place where the optimistic view I purpose to present is already accepted—still it may not be altogether out of place to discuss together here briefly four topics: (1) the nature of culture; (2) sources from which it may be derived; (3) some hindrances to its acquisition, and finally (4) possible methods of securing it through race contacts.

The dictionary definitions of culture do not help us here. The dictionaries tell us culture is “knowledge through training” or through discipline or education. But that definition does not suggest that culture is something broad as well as deep—and hence that it may be sought in out-of-the-way places. Better I like this definition—“culture is the ability to appreciate the other fellow—to see the other fellow’s point of view.” Such culture requires knowledge, of course, but it must be knowledge drawn from many fields. Thus if I do not know something of the philosophy of Plato, I am to that extent uncultured. But if I cannot operate a machine I am also to that extent uncultured. And if I do not appreciate somewhat how Negro folk feel and live and what culture they have developed,—then too I am surely lacking in culture.

Now the sources of culture, so defined, are many. But may they not all be reduced to this? Culture is always the product of contacts. Or better culture is always the product of varied, sympathetic, understanding contacts with people and things *different from ourselves*. The source may be native or foreign, black or white, Protestant, or Catholic, or Mohammedan or atheist, good or bad if you will—it may be anything under the sun except one—it must not be like myself. No man ever attained culture by reading his own autobiography, and no woman by gazing in

the looking glass. Such culture may be secured through contacts with books or contacts with things or people. But disregarding inanimate objects may we not say that were life long enough culture could best be obtained through contacts with people. Books are merely necessary short-cuts to culture. I suppose I shall best appreciate the beauty and pathos of Negro music if I hear it in the cabins of the South as well as in the music hall. That being impossible the studies of your organization and others enable me to know something of it through books.

But unless my contacts are with all sorts of people I shall miss the best of culture. I used to teach in a small college for women. It was a splendid institution. A somewhat selected type of girls came there, and they were a fine lot. But they had one fault. They were all alike, and hence poor sources for culture—for mutual stimulation. They were all white, and that was unfortunate. They were all native-born of the old stock. They were almost all Protestant in religion and Republican in politics. And they were all from the upper middle class. We used to take them to New York City to give them a thrill and some real contacts. We took them among other places to International House. International House is located, you know, on the Hudson just back of Grant's tomb. There gather students from all over the earth of every nationality and race. There every contact is a challenge to thought and almost a challenge to conflict. There the British Empire instead of being universally approved as the world's greatest achievement, is on occasion condemned as the world's greatest blunder. There Christianity is always on the defensive and democracy continually under fire. At times the attainment of culture in such a place may be difficult because of lack of time to assimilate ideas; but in general International House seems to me a symbol of the true solution of the so-called race problem.

But it would not be enough to bring together the races in international houses. Contacts must not only be varied

—they must also be sympathetic. And here we face a vicious circle. Sympathy comes from contacts, but a considerable degree of sympathy is essential to successful contacts. At some universities it is distressing to observe how irrationally students organize. Instead of choosing companions with common interests which are real, they too often divide along lines of physical differences which are only skin deep. But this is the university's opportunity to teach the value of contacts with people different from ourselves. It must do so if it is to tap some of the most vital sources of culture.

But race contacts to produce culture must also be understanding contacts. Mere casual meetings will not suffice. A foreman superintends a hundred men. He sees them for eight hours every day. But they are mere numbers to him. They bring him no culture because he does not understand their backgrounds. By giving us information about Negro culture, your association is furnishing us with a better basis for this understanding.

If culture comes from varied, sympathetic and understanding contacts, then, whatever hinders them blocks the road to culture. We must have varied cultural elements for culture. But since the war we have in America a cult of uniformity. Our aim seems to be to turn out 100% standardized Americans, and to keep them alike. Our immigration and Americanization policies evidence this aim as well as our educational policies. We exclude the alien; and if he comes we urge him to discard his past loyalties as a man removes his overcoat. Real culture is not so easily put off. It is said that when the French troops entered Alsace-Lorraine at the close of the war, they found two different attitudes on the part of the German inhabitants. Some naturally embittered by the war, closed the shutters of their houses, and would not even look at the conquerors. Others—including many small merchants—had an eye for business. They had changed the signs on their shops from German to French before the troops ar-

rived. They were ready for business. But assuming that Alsace-Lorraine remains French, which type will, I wonder, ultimately become the better French citizen—which will contribute most to French culture?—I seem to have wandered from my subject. But my point is this. True culture comes not from uniformity, but from organized diversity. America will gain most if cultures, both immigrant and Negro, are preserved and then united through contacts. Their preservation depends partly upon the further development of the highest form of race pride.

We have already said enough about race prejudice as a hindrance to the attainment of interracial culture. Fortunately we now know that such prejudice is not inherent but acquired. If it be increasing for the moment, it would be doomed if men should act rationally rather than emotionally upon race questions.

This brings me to my last point. Ignorance about race is also a bar to culture through race contacts. It is this ignorance which permits us to rationalize our prejudices. It is true that we know little about race and less about race worth. Intelligent ignorance is peculiarly in order in this field. But a review of the little evidence which we do have is sufficient to show that race prejudice is without a rational basis. What is this evidence?

The only significant race trait which we have attempted to measure scientifically seems to be intelligence. There have been eight or nine different ways in which we have tried to evaluate the relative intelligence of races:

(1) *By comparing the present achievements of races.* The white race starting with the assumption that its own materialistic civilization is the standard, naturally arrives at the conclusion that it is superior. The cure for this false method of evaluation is

(2) *To compare the achievements of races at different periods of time.* History shows that now one, now another racial stock has been in the vanguard of civilization. The white man's forefathers were barbarians when other racial groups had attained a complex civilization.

(3) *By deducing racial differences from the theory of natural selection.* Accepting the validity of the evolutionary hypothesis that the existing races were developed by a process of mutation and natural selection it seems to follow that intellectual as well as physical traits may have promoted survival. This method, though deductive, is nevertheless plausible when used merely to show that races are *different*. It is less convincing when used to prove the *superiority* of one race over another. Each race was presumably "superior" in its own environment.

(4) *By appealing to the physical anthropologists.* Interesting differences in average size of head and weight of brain can be shown. The results, however, are embarrassing to the intelligent white man who happens to have a head smaller than the average for any race and far smaller than that of many an idiot! If these results possess any significance at all it is only when large numbers are concerned. The really important factor seems to be not the size and weight of brain but the interconnections between brain cells.

(5) Similarly some students have tried to arrange the races on a scale according to their *resemblance or lack of resemblance to the ape or to an assumed pre-human ancestor*. This method is entirely inconclusive, because each of the major races is most similar to the ape in one or more traits, and furthest removed from him in others. If certain facial characteristics of the Negro are most simian, his lips are least simian. The white man most nearly approaches the ape in hairiness of body, etc.

(6) Again the *facts of ethnology* furnish scant support to race prejudice. With some exceptions ethnologists do not find evidence of wide differences between the intelligence of races. A thorough acquaintance, for example, with the hardships under which the Eskimo lived in the Arctic, and the Negro in the Torrid Zone, and a similarly thorough knowledge of the complexity of the cultures they achieved is a wholesome corrective for the white man's pride.

(7) Right here in St. Louis Dr. Woodworth made interesting and important studies of the *fundamental mental processes* of races. He concluded "we are probably justified in inferring from the results cited that sensory and motor processes, and the elementary brain activities, . . . are about the same from one race to another."

(8) Recent very interesting tests of *emotional traits* of races such as those of Drs. Porteus and Babcock in Hawaii are still too undeveloped to justify conclusions. They do show, however, that the basis of what we call "race worth" is far too complex to be measured in terms of intellectual traits alone.

(9) Finally we have the results of the widely advertized and much debated *general intelligence tests*. It is here that, superficially considered at least, we find the greatest apparent differences between the races. But the evidence is far from conclusive. We must remember that results vary with the type of tests used; that some would distinguish abstract, concrete and mechanical intelligence, and that relative scores vary with the type of ability measured. We must also note the rather good evidence that the Army test scores were influenced by varying opportunities and handicaps, and that they were often carelessly given. Moreover, it has been pointed out at earlier meetings of this association that these test results correlate as well with educational and other opportunities as with race. The fact remains, however, that these test results show considerable differences in average racial scores. Without either emphasizing or minimizing this fact it is important for us to point out that these very scores, extreme and exaggerated as they are, destroy the rational basis for race prejudice. If it be true that the average Negro score was lower than that of the whites; it is also true that the difference between the highest and lowest Negro scores was far greater. Similarly the gap which separates the ablest from the stupidest whites far exceeds the gap which separates the two races. In other words the great variable is the individual and not

the race. Or put concretely, if I may speak as an average white man for the moment, the chances are that at least one out of five colored men I meet on the street is a better man than I. If therefore I would choose my associates rationally I must choose a racially mixed group. Race prejudice does not consist, of course, in preferring as companions those whose intelligence is similar to one's own. Race prejudice consists in choosing companions on the basis of color of skin. We know that at least a large minority of colored people today are intellectually superior to the whites. The rational barrier to seeking culture among all races thus crumbles. Would that man would act rationally.

It follows then that both races will profit culturally if we promote contacts between those members of each which are capable of contributing cultural values and of appreciating the cultural contributions of others. Our universities offer peculiar opportunities for this. White students are often missing one of their most precious opportunities when they fail to seek the friendship of their colored fellows. The latter are far more likely to become leaders of their race, for they are a more selected lot. Such contacts should not hinder the development of Negro culture itself. But neither race can afford to do without cultural contacts with the other.

I have tried to show that culture may be called the ability to appreciate the other fellow. That as such it has many sources but is always derived from varied, sympathetic, and understanding contacts between people who are in some respects different. These contacts are through books or through face to face association, both being necessary. But four forces tend to prevent such valuable contacts—tendencies to uniformity of type and standardization; race prejudice; failure to understand one another including blindness to the true significance of what little we know about race; and all forces which isolate groups. Developing the need for understanding I have tried to show that by whatever measure we evaluate races, race groups

overlap. Hence race prejudice loses its alleged rational basis. To value men as individuals rather than as members of physical groups, may be emotionally difficult for many; but it is one of the marks of a rationally intellectual man.

I have made no attempt to demonstrate specific cultural values to be derived through cultural contacts with the Negro. Your association is adding each year to our knowledge of such values. It only remains for me to thank you again for this opportunity to acquire culture through contacts with the other fellow.

DONALD R. TAFT

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE OF THE RELATIONS OF NEGROES AND INDIANS *

In America there was established a contact of three races, the white, Indian, and Negro. This paper is concerned with the results of one of these contacts, the social attitudes existing between Indians and Negroes in the slave period. Inasmuch as the relations of these two races were much influenced by the dominant white man, however, it will be necessary first to consider in a brief manner the attitude of the white man as it pertains to this subject.

After the marriage of Pocahontas there seem to have been no more of such legal alliances of the Indians and whites in the Virginia colony. However, there were those who held that the union of the Indian and the white by marriage was based on sound policy. The following letter written by Peter Fountaine illustrates such opinion:

Westover, Virginia
March 30, 1757.

Dear brother Moses:

... I shall only hint at some of the things we ought to have done, and which we did not do at our first settlement among them, and which we might have learned from our enemies, the French. I am persuaded we are not deficient in observing our treaties with them, but we got our lands by concession, and not by conquest, we ought to have intermarried with them, which would have incorporated them with us effectively, and made them staunch friends, and which is of still more consequence, made of them good Christians; but this our wise politicians at home put an effectual stop to at the beginning of our settlement here, for when they heard that Rolfe had married Pocahontas, it was deliberated in Council whether he had not committed high treason by doing so, that is, marrying an Indian princess; and had not some trouble intervened which put a stop to the inquiry, the poor man might have been hanged up for doing the most just, the most natural, and most generous and polite action, that ever was done on this side the water. This put an effectual stop to all intermarriages afterwards. Our Indian traders indeed have their squaws, alias whores, at the Indian towns where

* The facts herein set forth were the basis of an address delivered in St. Louis at the annual meeting of the Association on October 24, 1928.

they trade, but they leave their offspring like bulls or bores to be provided for at random by their mothers. As might be expected, some of these bastards have been the leading men or war captains that have done us most mischief. His ill treatment was enough to have created jealousy in the natural man's breast, and made the Indians look upon us as false and deceitful friends, and caused all our efforts to convert them to be ineffectual. But here, me thinks, I can hear you observe, what, an Englishman intermarry with Indians? But I can convince you that they are guilty of much more heinous practices, more unjustifiable in the sight of God and man (if that, indeed, may be called a bad practice) for many base wretches among us take up with negro women, by which means the country swarms with mulatto bastards, and these mulattoes, if but three generations removed from the black father or mother, may, by the indulgence of the laws of the country, intermarry with white people, and actually do so, marry every day. Now, if, instead of this abominable practice which hath polluted the blood of many amongst us, we had taken Indian wives in the first place, it would have made them some compensation for their lands. They are a free people, and the offspring would not have been born in a state of slavery. We would have become the rightful heirs of their lands, and should not have smutted our blood, for the Indian children when born are as white as the Spaniards and Portuguese, and if it were not for the practice of going naked in Summer and besmearing themselves with bears grease, etc., they would continue white¹

Colonel William Byrd held similar opinions on this subject. He writes as follows:

They had now made peace with the Indians, but there was one thing wanting to make the peace lasting. The natives could by no means, persuade themselves that the English were heartily their friends so long as they disdained to intermarry with them. And, in earnest, had the English consulted their own security and the good of the Colony, had they intended either to civilize or convert these gentiles, they would have brought their stomachs to embrace this prudent alliance. The Indians are usually tall and well proportioned which makes them full amends for the darkness of their complexions. Add to this, that they are healthy and strong, with constitutions untainted by lewdness, and not enfeebled by luxury. Besides morals and all considered, I can not think the Indians were very much greater heathens than the first adventurers, who, had they been good Christians, would have had the charity to take this only method of converting the natives to Christianity. For, after all that can be said a spritly lover is the most prevailing missionary that can be sent among these or any other infidels. Besides the

¹ Maury, *Memoirs of a Huguenot Family*, pp. 349-350.

poor Indians would have had less reason to complain that the English took their lands, if they had received it by way of a marriage portion with their daughters. Had such affinities been contracted in the beginning, how much bloodshed had been prevented, and how populous the country would have been, and consequently, how considerable. Nor would the shade of skin have been any reproach at this day; for if the Moor may be washed in three generations, surely an Indian might be blanched in two.³

In 1699 a petition was presented to the Virginia Burgeses for the repeal of an act against the marriage of English people with Indians.³ Sir William Johnson had an Indian wife who bore him children. To her he was very faithful, and his great influence over the Six Nations is said in part to have been due to this relation. He advised other men to follow his example.⁴ In 1784 a bill was offered in the Virginia Legislature providing that "every white man who married an Indian woman should have ten pounds paid and five for each child born of such a marriage; and that if any white woman should marry an Indian she should be entitled to ten pounds with which the County Court should buy live stock for them; that once each year the Indian husband to this woman should be entitled to three pounds with which the County Court should buy clothes for him; that every child born to the Indian man and white woman should be educated by the state between the ages of ten and twenty-one years,"⁵

Patrick Henry was the author of this bill, and it had the support of John Marshall. The bill passed the lower house on its first and second reading, but it was defeated when Henry left that chamber to assume other duties. It appears, also, that William H. Crawford advocated in 1824

³ Bassett, *The Writings of Colonel William Byrd*, pp. 8-9.

⁴ McIlwaine, *Legislative Journal of the Council of Colonial Virginia*, Vol. 1, p. 262.

⁵ Maury, op. cit. p. 360; Grahame, *History of the United States of North America*, Vol. IV, p. 151; Buckingham, *The Slave States of America*, Vol. 1, pp. 77-78.

⁶ Beveridge, *Life of John Marshall*, Vol. 1, pp. 239-241.

that the national government should adopt a similar policy, but the idea does not seem to have been a popular one.⁶

As a rule, marriage with the Indian was disdained by the white man.⁷ This attitude toward legal admixture was followed by much licentious miscegenation of the two races. That observer who claims "there is a degree of repulsion between the Anglo-Americans and the Indians which prevents their intermixing,"⁸ would seem to have been misinformed. There is abundant evidence that there was much promiscuous mixture of the white and the Indian. On the frontier, surrounded by Indians and not frowned upon by his fellowmen, the white man mixed freely with the Indian. It is recorded that, "it is the custom when a white man enters an Indian village, or nation, with the intention of residing there for some time, if only a few months, for him to have a wigwam, or hut, erected, in which he lives with some young squaw, who he either courts to his embraces, or receives from her parents as his wife and servant, during the time of his stay with them. . . ."⁹ Soldiers on the frontier are reported as having Indian wives.¹⁰ Also, examples are to be found in which the Indian squaw of the white trader disclosed the plans of the tribe on occasion of plotted attack on the white settlers.¹¹

Missionaries complained bitterly of this custom. In 1801 a missionary to the Chickasaw tribe reported that "he undertook to admonish an Indian of considerable influence on taking a second wife while his first wife was living with him. He replied 'there is A.—B.'— meaning a white man, 'a great man, he has five wives, and may I

⁶ *Strictures Addressed to James Madison on the Celebrated Report of William H. Crawford recommending the Intermarriage of Americans with the Indian Tribes.*

⁷ Lauber, *Indian Slavery*, pp. 207-8; Oldmixon, *The British Empire in America*, p. 252.

⁸ Stuart, *Three Years in North America*, Vol. II, p. 201.

⁹ Smyth, *A Tour of the United States of America*, Vol. 1, pp. 190-1; Carr, *Early Times in Middle Tennessee*, p. 266.

¹⁰ Timberlake, *Memoirs of Lenit*, p. 65.

¹¹ *Archives of Virginia, Executive Papers*, June 1781.

not have two.' ”¹² Another missionary reported from Indiana in 1818, “I can with truth, inform you that there are among the Indian tribes of Indiana, white men who have half a dozen wives.”¹³ In 1824, still another wrote to John C. Calhoun, then Secretary of War, “. . . . All they know of us in relation to morals has been learned from those that have been among them and painful to relate from this source they have learned nothing but the most libidinous and abandoned licentiousness.”¹⁴

On the frontier the blood of the white man and the Indian mingled without sanction of law and without restraint of social antipathies. Persons who lived in such relations with the Indians and their offspring exercised an influence upon the Indian which must be taken into full account before the conclusion of this paper.

In the seaboard states under the slave régime the white man enslaved the Indian, and under the system the white man debased the Indian slave woman, as he did the Negro slave woman. The slave code made possible a race of half-breed Indians and half-breed Negroes, while law and custom forbade and frowned upon legal marriage of the white race and the two weaker races. Admixture of white and Indian blood resulted as did that of white and Negro blood under conditions that were deplored. It was legally forbidden, yet impossible to restrain. Under the slave code, or on the frontier, where men found themselves freed from the restraints of white society, the blood of the races mingled.

From early colonial times until the end of the slave period there was much mixture of the blood of the Negro and the Indian.¹⁵ Neither the law nor social barriers forbade the intermixture of these two races; both shared the antipathies of the white man, and when held as slaves their

¹² Hall, *A Brief History of the Mississippi Territory*, p. 5.

¹³ Morse, *Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1820.

¹⁴ *Office of Indian Affairs*, (Letters Received) Jan. 25, 1824.

¹⁵ Lauber, *op. cit.*, p. 252; Jones, *Present State of Virginia*, p. 37; Chamberlain, *African and American, the Contact of the Negro and the Indian, Science*, Vol. XVII, Feb. 1891, pp. 85-90.

treatment differed in no essential degree.¹⁶ Conditions of life, slave and free, often led to the union of the Indian and the Negro, and the final extinction of Indian slavery was in part due to the absorbing of the Indians by the more numerous Negroes.¹⁷

Proof of the unity developed between these two races is to be seen in the fact that in certain Indian massacres the Indian murdered every white man but spared the Negro, and, also, in the concerted action of Indians and Negroes in time of insurrection. However, the most convincing proof of the unity of the races is seen in the mixed racial elements to be found in the remnants of the Indian tribes of the original States.

The best published account of such remnants of Indian tribes is an account of the "Relations of Indians and Negroes in Massachusetts" published in *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. V, pages 45 to 47.¹⁸ A report to the Secretary of War, in 1822, says of these Massachusetts Indians, "Very few of them are of unmixed blood, the number of pure blooded Indians is extremely small, say fifty or sixty, and is rapidly decreasing. The mixture of blood arises far more frequently from connection with Negroes than with whites."¹⁹ Two very careful reports concerning these Indians were made to the legislature of the State. In 1847 the first of these documents recites that "the whole number of Indians and people of colour connected with them, not encluding Natick, is 847. There are about six or eight Indians, of pure blood, in the state, . . . all the rest are of mixed blood; mostly Indian and African."²⁰ A final

¹⁶ Russell, *The Free Negro in Virginia*, pp. 127-8.

¹⁷ Lauber, *op. cit.*, 250; Franklin, *Philosophical and Political History of the Thirteen United States*, p. 20.

¹⁸ *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. V., pp. 45-57.

¹⁹ Morse, *A Report to the Secretary of War of the United States*, 1822, pp. 24-5.

²⁰ *Report of the Commissioners relating to the Condition of the Indians in Massachusetts*, House Report. No. 46, 1849.

report made in 1861 shows that these people of mixed Negro and Indian blood had very much increased.²¹

Conditions found in Massachusetts are to be duplicated in other Eastern States. In Rhode Island a report to the Secretary of War, in 1822, says of the Narragansetts, "There are about 429, of these twenty-two are denominated Negroes; the rest are of Indian extraction, but are nearly all, if not every individual of mixed blood and colour, in various degrees and shades."²²

At Southampton and Montauk Point in New York were located tribes closely kin to those of Massachusetts. A report to the State legislature says of these people, "There social condition is not enviable, during the time the Negroes were held as slaves in this State, these Indians largely intermarried with them and their descendents have more of the Negro than of the Indian in their veins and in fact are only Indian in name."²³ A decision of the Supreme Court of the State of New York in 1910 declared that "for nearly two hundred years the Indians and their descendents lived on Indian Field (Montauk). . . . During this long period the number of Indians became greatly reduced. Their blood became so mixed that in many of them Indian traits were obliterated. . . ."²⁴

Of the New Jersey Indians it is said that "throughout the colonial history of the State there were few marriages of white men and Indian women, and those that were contracted were looked upon in the light of miscegenations. For this reason the unions between Indians and Negroes were commonly so frequent, indeed, as to have left permanent impress upon the features of many of the families of Negroes of the present day."²⁵

²¹ Massachusetts, *Senate Report*, No. 96, 1861.

²² Morse, *op. cit.*

²³ *Report of the Special Committee to Investigate the Indian Problem of the State of New York*, No. 51, 1889, p. 54.

²⁴ 69, New York, *Misscl.*, *Pharoah vs. Benson*; Adams, *History of the Town of Southampton*, p. 44.

²⁵ Lee, *New Jersey as a Colony and a State*, Vol. I, pp. 65-6.

Many advertisements in colonial newspapers give evidence of the mixture of the two races in New Jersey. The following are examples:

"Was stolen by her mother, a negro girl, about 9 or 10 years of age, named Dianah, her mothers name is Cash, was married to an Indian named Lewis Wolis, near six feet high, about thirty-five years of age. Any person who takes up the said Negroes and Indian and secures them, shall have the above reward and all reasonable charges." *New Jersey Gazette*, April 15, 1778.²⁶

"Runaway on the 20th of September last, from Silas Pavin, at Cohansie in New Jersey, a very lusty Negro fellow named Sampson, aged about 58 years and had some Indian blood in him. He is hip short and goes lame. He has taken with him a boy about 12 or 13 years of age named Sam. Was born of an Indian woman, and looks much like an Indian only his hair. They are both well clothed, only the boy is barefooted. They have taken with them a gun and ammunition and two rugs. They both talk Indian very well, and it is likely they have dressed themselves in the Indian dress, and gone to Carolina." *Pennsylvania Journal*, October 1, 1747.²⁷

"Runaway, the 26th of June last, from Samuel Leanard of Perth Amboy in New Jersey, a thick short fellow, having but one eye. His name is Wan. He is half Negro and half Indian; he had on when he went away a blue coat. He plays the fiddle, and speaks good English and his country Indian. . . . *American Weekly Mercury*, October 24, 1734.²⁸

In Virginia we have informing records of the following tribes, Pamunky, Nottaway, Gingaskin, and Mattopony. The Pamunky, located in King William County, are the largest group. In 1800 Jefferson speaks of the Pamunky as "tolerably free from mixture with other colours."²⁹ But in 1854 Father William, a priest of the Catholic Church, describes these people in these significant words, "Few of them, however, deserve the name of Indians, so mingled are they with other nations by intermarriage. Some are partly African, others partly European, or rather I should say Virginian." The settlement, says he, "is inhabited by the most curious intermixture of every class and colour

²⁶ *New Jersey Archives, First Series*, Vol. II, p. 188.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 403-4.

²⁸ *New Jersey Archives, First Series*, Vol. XI, p. 188.

²⁹ Jefferson, *Notes on Virginia*.

of people.”³⁰ A booklet published by the Bureau of American Ethnology (1894) says of the tribe “no member of the Pamunky tribe is of the full blood. While the copper colored skin and straight, coarse hair of the aboriginal American shows decidedly in some individuals, there are others whose Indian origin would not be detected by the ordinary observer. There has been considerable intermixture of the white blood in the tribe, and not a little of that of the Negro,”³¹

In 1843 an effort was made by the white inhabitants of King William County to dispossess the Pamunky of their lands. Reasons given in their petition to the legislature of the State emphasize the fact that these people had become Negro and hence had no claim to the rights of the Indians. This document recites:

There are two parcels or tracts of land situated within the said county on which a number of persons are now living, all of whom by the laws of Virginia would be deemed and taken to be free mulattoes, in any Court of Justice; as it is believed they have all one fourth or more of Negro blood; and as proof of this they rely on the generally admitted fact that not one individual can be found among them whose grandfathers or grandmothers one or more is not of Negro blood which proportion of Negro blood constitutes a free mulatto. Your petitioners do not question the propriety of the law of the colonial legislature; it was a benevolent act for those who had some claim on the consideration of the public authorities of the colony. But time and circumstances have wholly changed the nature of the question and completely unhinged the designs of those who enacted the provisions. The object of the colonial assembly was to protect a few harmless and tributary Indians but the law which was passed to secure the Indians from intrusion on the part of the same white inhabitants, has unwittingly imposed upon the posterity of the same white inhabitants a great grievance, in the presence of two unincorporated bodies of free mulattoes in the midst of a large slaveholding community. A greater grievance of such character can not be well conceived, when it is known that a large number of free Negroes and mulattoes now enjoy under a law enacted for a praiseworthy purpose peculiar and exclusive privileges such as an entire exemption from taxation, holding land without liability for debt, and the land so held properly speaking public

³⁰ Father William, *Recollections of Rambles at the South*, pp. 128-130.

³¹ Pollard, *Pamunky Indians of Virginia*, Bul. 17, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1894.

land belonging to the Commonwealth. . . . The claim of the Indians no longer exists. . . . His blood has so largely mingled with that of the Negro race as to have obliterated all striking features of Indian extraction. Your petitioners express the general voice of the free white inhabitants of the county and as slaveholders they protest against this dangerous and anomalous condition, for it has assumed all the features of a legally established body of free Negroes, the resort of free Negroes from all parts of the country . . . the harbour for runaway slaves. . . . Your petitioners further represent to the General Assembly that, serious apprehensions are felt by the white inhabitants from the increase of these free mulattoes and their present combination in places accessible by a bold and early navigation to every vessel that enters the river. They could be easily converted into an instrument of deadly annoyance to the white inhabitants by northern fanaticism. This is a more than possible event and must be considered in the light in which its nature and importance suggests. . . .³²

A counter petition, from the members of the tribe, was sent to the legislature. In this petition the tribe did not deny that there was a Negro element among them, but they claimed that the members of the tribe were persons of more than one half Indian blood.³³

Typical of conditions existing among the Pamunkies is the case of John Dungee, a Pamunky Indian, and Lucy Ann, his wife, a Negro girl. This document is dated, King William County, December 19, 1825, and reads as follows:

Your petitioner, John Dungee, and Lucy Ann, his wife, who are free persons of colour residing in King William County ask permission most respectfully to represent to the legislature of Virginia. That your petitioner John Dungee (who is descended from the aborigines of this dominion) was born free and 'tis his birth-right to reside therein. That having many relations and connections in this section of the county in which he was raised, all his feelings and attachments have bound him to Virginia and he has never for a moment entertained the idea of leaving the land of his forbears. . . . Your petitioner Lucy Ann is the illegitimate daughter of the late Edmund Littlepage Esq., a highly respected and wealthy citizen, who by his last will and testament and as an act of justice and atonement for an error of an unguarded moment bequeathed to his innocent offspring the boon of freedom and a pecuniary legacy of \$1,000.00. . . . During the last year your petitioners urged by the strongest and purest attachment to each other

³² *Legislative Petitions, Archives of Virginia, King William County, 1843.*

³³ *Ibid.*

were lawfully united to each other in matrimony and fondly flattered themselves that they had the prospect of passing through life with a portion of happiness that is decreed to but few. Only a few months had passed away, however, before your petitioners were aroused from their halcyon state by being informed that by the laws of the land it was necessary that your petitioner Lucy Ann should remove from the Commonwealth or be sold into slavery. The intelligent and humane can at once imagine how appalling the information was to your petitioners, how frightful the consequence of a rigid and unbending enforcement of the law, how totally destructive of the right, the interest, and happiness, of your petitioners. An enumeration of the disastrous effects of the enforcement of the law in this case is almost unnecessary to your enlightened body, but they will briefly state, that if they are compelled to leave this land your petitioner John in a moment loses the labor of his life in acquiring an accurate knowledge of the Chesapeake Bay and of the rivers which disembark themselves therein by which knowledge he is rendered useful to himself and others and the legacy bequeathed to your petitioner Lucy Ann be lost or of little value to them. They will be torn from their parents, relatives, and friends, and driven in a state of destitution to migrate to a foreign land. . . .³⁴

The citizens of the county gave to John Dungee the following testimonial:

. . . . Captain Dungee is a free born native of Virginia, was raised in the calling of a sailor and has for many years been commander of a vessel constantly employed in the navigation of the Chesapeake Bay and the rivers of Virginia and never failed to give satisfaction and to secure to himself the unbounded confidence of his employers and those who committed their possessions to his care.³⁵

The Pamunky are almost the only surviving group of Indians to be found in present day Virginia. Their racial identity is now a problem for those who wish to enforce recent legislation on the question of racial identity.

Another Virginia group are the Nottoways. Of these it was reported in 1818 that "their number is about thirty, there are about six men who inherit though not more than two are true blood, about the same number and blood of

³⁴ *Legislative Petitions, Archives of Virginia, King William County, Dec. 16, 1825.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*

women, the rest are children. Their husbands and wives are chiefly free Negroes.”³⁶ A few years earlier an enumeration is given of the members of this tribe. Examples of the members recorded are interesting. Of John Turner, it is said, “His employment is tillage, when he works, his employment at present is unknown, as he has left his farm in possession of a mulatto woman who has been kept as his wife.” Of another, Jimmy Wincock, “No Indian in his family but himself, has no wife, a mulatto woman lives with him.”³⁷ The governor of the State writes to the trustees of this tribe to stop the practice of holding the children in the families of the trustees, for the governor feels that the children are being reduced to slavery.

Still another Virginia tribe are the Gingaskins, located in Northampton County on the Eastern Shore of Virginia. Repeated efforts were made by the people of this county to take over the lands of the Gingaskins on the grounds that the Gingaskins had become extinct. The first document in this case bore the date of November 26, 1784. It was said that the “land is at present an asylum for free Negroes and other disorderly persons, who build huts thereon and pillage and destroy the timber without restraint to the great inconvenience of the honest inhabitants of the vicinity, who have ever considered it a den of thieves and a nuisance to the neighborhood. . . .”³⁸

The legislature refused this petition and a second effort was made to take over the land in 1787. At that time it was said that, “they have at length become nearly extinct, there being at this time not more than three or four genuine Indians at most. . . . It was again said that the place was “a harbor and convenient asylum for an idle set of free Negroes.”³⁹ A final and successful effort to take these lands

³⁶ *Ibid.*, Southhampton County, Dec. 16, 1818.

³⁷ *Executive Papers, Archives of Virginia*, July 18, 1808.

³⁸ *Legislative Papers, Archives of Virginia, Northampton County*, Nov. 26, 1784.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Northampton County, Oct. 10, 1787.

was made in 1812. That year it was said that the place was "inhabited by as many black men, I believe, as Indian men; . . . the Indian women have many of them married black men and a majority of the inhabitants are black or have black blood in them . . . it is generally believed that since the introduction of so many free Negroes and mulattoes into the town, that it has become a place of resort for the most vicious part of the black population. . . ." ⁴⁰

The Mattopony, the last group of Virginia Indians, became extinct at an early date. In 1800 Thomas Jefferson said of these people, "there remain of the Mattoponies three or four men only, and they have more Negro than Indian blood in them." ⁴¹

In other States are to be found groups of people whose racial identity is disputed. Such are the Croatans of North Carolina, the Moors of Delaware, and the Meguleons of Tennessee. ⁴² In their localities these people are believed to be of mixed Indian and Negro origin, and they seem to be additional evidence of the mixture of races as described above. In Ohio a group of persons was excluded from the public schools in 1843 on the ground that they were mixed Indian and Negroes. ⁴³ In Maine and in all of the Southern States are to be found, in the records of the courts of appeal, cases in which the litigant attempts to prove that he is an Indian and not a Negro. These cases are further evidence of the extension of mixed blood in these States, and they also manifest the difficulty that faced the courts in their effort to determine the pedigree of such persons.

In South Carolina early Indian-Negro history was much influenced by the occupation of the territory south of the

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, Northampton County, Nov. 22, 1812.

⁴¹ Jefferson, *op. cit.*

⁴² Burrell, *A Note on the Meguleons*, *The American Anthropologist*, Vol. II, pp. 347-9; Fisher, *The So-Called Moors of Delaware*, *Milford (Delaware) Herald*, June 15, 1895; (Croatan's Senate Document. No. 677, 63d Cong. 3d Ses.; *Handbook of the American Indians*, Part 1, p. 365; Swanton, *op. cit.*; p. 291; Moore-Wilson, *Seminole of Florida*, p. 14.

⁴³ 12, *Ohio Reports*, p. 237, *Lane vs. Baker*.

State by the Spanish, especially before the colony of Georgia was founded. The Spanish and Indians of this region stole South Carolina slaves and harbored them. This situation seems to have led the citizens of the State to work out a racial policy in a degree not attempted in other States. Here an effort was made to keep the Indian, the mulatto, and the Negro as distinct castes; to create a feeling of superiority on the part of the Indians toward the mass of the Negroes and a similar attitude on the part of the mulattoes toward the blacks. Indians were used to track and to capture runaway Negroes and were liberally rewarded for this work. There is report of prejudice manifested by certain of the South Carolina Indians toward the Negroes. A report to the legislature of South Carolina seems to indicate that the Catawba Indians maintained purity of blood in a higher degree than did most of the tribes that came into contact with the Negroes. However, the blood of the Negro and of the Indian united in this State regardless of all efforts to prevent it. Here the forces of passion and nature triumphed over policy, governmental or otherwise. The courts defined such persons as "mustizos" and distinguished them from the caste of Indian-white half-breeds.⁴⁴

Possibly the South Carolina policy, to a certain degree, affected Indian-Negro relations in the entire southwest territory. To the writer it appears that on the southwestern frontier the situation was more complicated than in the seaboard States. Here appears especially among the Chickasaws and Cherokees signs of prejudice against the Negro very similar to that of the white man toward the Negro. The Southwestern territory was very much infested by settlers from the slaveholding States. David Reese, Indian agent among the Cherokees, wrote to the Bureau of Indian affairs, on March 10, 1832, "Among the

⁴⁴ 4. *Dudley's Reports*, (S.C.) *Miller vs. Dawson*, p. 174. "A South Carolinian," *A Refutation of the Calumnies Circulated Against the Southern and Western States respecting the Institution and Existence of Slavery among Them. To Which is Added a Minute and Particular Report of the Actual Conditions of Their Negro Population*, Charleston, 1822, pp. 84-5.

Cherokees, as in all communities, there are different grades or ranks of society. . . . The first is composed mainly of the offspring of intermarriages between the whites and the Cherokees. . . . In this class may be included a few full blooded Indians.”⁴⁵

White men carried with them into the Indian country the antipathies of the white south.⁴⁶ Such men often became leading spirits in the tribes. Governor Lumpkin, of Georgia, in a message to the State legislature, November 5, 1833, says, “A class of individuals chiefly of the white and mixed blood, and who claim the rights of natives within the limits of Georgia, are persons, who took valuable fee simple reservations of the best land then ceded. . . . Moreover, these very individuals, by their superior intelligence and advantages of education, have had the address to regain an influence over the Cherokees whom they had once abandoned to their fate so far as to rule, govern, and influence them in all matters relating to their most important interests.”⁴⁷

Many of these men took Indian wives. They were slaveholders and held Negroes as slaves inside the Indian country. They and their children taught the prejudices of the slave country to the Indian. A letter to James Barbour, Secretary of War, December 3, 1825, written by David Brown, an Indian-white Cherokee, contains the following quotation:

The census of this division of the Cherokee, (East of the Mississippi) has been taken within the current year, and the return has been thus made—Native citizens, 13,563, white men married in the nation 147; white women do. 73; African slaves, 1,277. . . . White men in the nation enjoy all the immunities and privileges of the

⁴⁵ *Office of Indian Affairs, Cherokees of the East File*, (letters received) March 10, 1832.

⁴⁶ Murat, *A Moral and Political Sketch of the United States of North America*, pp. 287-9; *Report of the Secretary of War, 1830-1*, *Sen. Doc. 21st Cong. 2nd Ses. No. 1*, p. 34; *House Doc. 22nd Cong. 1st Ses. Vol. 1, No. 216*, p. 31.

⁴⁷ *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Georgia, 1833*, p. 16.

Cherokee people. . . . In the computation of the present year, you perceive that there are some Africans among us. They have been from time to time brought into the nation and sold by white men; they are, however, generally treated well, and they prefer living in the nation, to a residence in the United States. There is hardly any intermixture of the Cherokee and African blood. . . .⁴⁸

Another letter seems to indicate that the Cherokee objected to the attitude of certain neighboring tribes toward the Negro. The letter reads as follows:

May 31, 1848, Sir: We deem it our duty to represent to you that there has been for a long time past under the protection of the United States Government or its accredited officers a large number of Negroes claimed by the Seminoles, located and living in our immediate and proper country. We speak sincerely when we say that we express not only our convictions but the wishes of all classes of the Cherokee people that this state of affairs is objected to and that some other disposition should be made of the said Negroes. If slave it seems to us that they should be returned to their owners, if not, we do now earnestly protest against their longer continuance in our country, as so large a number of that description of persons is a nuisance to themselves and to the people they represent. We do, therefore, respectfully ask that for their own safety as well as for that of the rights of the Cherokee they may be removed without necessary delay beyond our limits.⁴⁹ [Signed by the Cherokee delegation.]

The evidence seems to show that South Carolina planter policy extended into sections of the Indian country. But here, there were always sexual relations similar to these existing in the heart of the slave south.⁵⁰ It will be seen, however, that these relations can not be properly held to prevail between the Negro and the American Indian, but they are to be regarded as conditions existing between the Negro and the Indian who had become, more correctly speaking a "Southern-white-slave-holding-Indian." It is not to be believed that all the tribes of the Southwest exhibited racial antipathies against mixture of their blood with that of the Negro. Indians living more nearly in a tribal

⁴⁸ O.I.A., *Letter Book*, No. 2. p. 303.

⁴⁹ O.I.A., *Cherokee File, Letters Received*, July 17, 1848.

⁵⁰ Dudley, *S. C. Reports, Miller vs. Dawson*, p. 174; Brayton, *A View of South Carolina*, p. 92.

state and less influenced by the civilization and opinions of the white man welcomed the Negroes and united freely with them.⁵¹

The Creeks afford an example of such a tribal attitude. The first census of the Creeks is the Abbott-Parsons census of 1832. The census records of these men show clearly the conditions existing among the Creeks. On September 7, 1832, Parsons addressed to Lewis Cass, the Secretary of War, the following interrogation:

Sir: We the commissioners engaged in taking the census of the Creek Indians meeting with some difficulties in the construction of a part of the instructions beg leave to respectfully propose the following questions. . . .

(3d) If an Indian have living with him as his wife a Negro slave, the property either of himself or of another, is he to be considered as the head of a family in the sense contemplated in the instructions transmitted to us and to be enrolled as entitled to a reservation?⁵²

Parsons wrote to Cass again, October 16, 1832:

. . . . I beg leave to propound a few enquiries in addition to some already made. There is a number of free black families that seem to be in every way identified with these people and the only difference is color. I have taken their number in all cases, but am I to take them as heads of families for reservations or not?⁵³

The Commissioner, in turn, issued the following instructions to his agents:

" An Indian, whether full or half blood, who has a female slave living with him as his wife, is the head of a family and entitled to a reservation."⁵⁴ also, ". . . . free blacks who have been admitted members of the Creek nation, and are recognized as such by the tribe, if they have families are entitled to reservations of land under the second section of the Creek treaty."⁵⁵

The Seminoles are another tribe whose blood mingled freely with that of the Negro. Indeed, there is reason to

⁵¹ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1866, pp. 283-5; Flint, *The History and Geography of the Mississippi Valley*, Vol. I, p. 210.

⁵² *O.I.A., Creek File, Letters Received*, Sept. 7, 1832.

⁵³ *O.I.A., Creek File, Letters Received*, Oct. 16, 1832.

⁵⁴ *O.I.A., Creek File, Letters Received*, Oct. 10, 1832.

⁵⁵ *O.I.A., Creek File, Letters Received*, Nov. 5, 1832.

believe that the Seminole Wars were not so much Indian wars as Negro wars.⁵⁶ In many instances the instigators of war were Negroes and the strategy was Negro strategy. General Jessup reported to the Secretary of War, June 16, 1837, . . . "I have ascertained that at the battle of Wahoo, a Negro, the property of a Florida planter, was one of the most distinguished leaders, and I have learned that the depredations on the plantations east of St. Johns, were perpetrated by plantation Negroes, headed by an Indian Negro, John Cæsar, since killed. . . ."⁵⁷

Florida from Spanish days to 1849 was a refuge for escaped slaves. One of the causes of the Seminole war of 1836-7 was the intermixture of the blood of the Negro and Indian. In the Congress of the United States the Seminoles were defended on the grounds that they, the Indian fathers of Negro-Indian children, were fighting to protect their children from slave catchers who were carrying them away to the cotton and sugar fields of the Lower South.⁵⁸ Of this war Harriet Martineau said, "According to the law of the slave states, the children follow the condition of the mother. It will be seen at a glance, what consequences follow from this, how it operates as a premium on licentiousness among white men and also what effect it must have upon any Indians with whom the slave women take refuge. The late Seminole war arose out of this law. The escaped slaves had intermarried with the Indians. The masters claimed the children. The Seminole fathers would not give them up. Force was used to tear the children away from the parents arms and the Indians began their desperate but very natural work of extermination."⁵⁹

⁵⁶ O.I.A., *Florida File, Letters Received*, Jan. 1, 1834; Aug. 27, 1838; *Florida, Emigration File*, Nov. 27, 1838; Sprague, *Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War*, pp. 52, 81, 100; Drake, *Aboriginal Races of America*, pp. 417, 433, 462, 479.

⁵⁷ O.I.A., *Seminole Emigration Files, Letters Received*, June 16, 1837.

⁵⁸ *Congressional Globe*, 26th Cong., 2nd Ses. pp. 346-352; Moore-Wilson, *Seminole of Florida*, p. 14.

⁵⁹ Simms, *Morals of Slavery*, (In Proslavery Arguments), pp. 237-8.

In Congress the representatives of the South declared these reports absolutely false and William Gilmore Simms, in his Pro-Slavery Argument, denounces Miss Martineau for the slander of the South. However, the records of the Indian Office reveal truth on the side of Giddings, Martineau, and the friends of the Indian and the Negro, and falsehood on the side of the defenders of the slave South.

A letter in the archives at Washington dated, near Chatahoochee, March 24, 1838, and signed by E-Con-Chattemicco, John Waller, and twelve subchiefs, demands that agents of the Government of the United States "go into Georgia near Columbus and bring Sarah Factor, a colored woman, and her three children back to us, who were stolen away two years ago—grant us this request and all will be well." The story of Sarah Factor and her children is told in another document which reads as follows:

Florida, Jackson County

July 15, 1838

Dear Sir:

There is another matter which I wish to lay before you that is this. There is an old Indian by name of Sam Factor who took for his wife a Negro woman that belonged to him. I am as well convinced that she did as I could be of any fact. From the various certificates to the said facts. The case is this. The last visit that General Thompson made to the Appalachacoola Indians he appointed me as one of the agents to try to protect this old Indian's property for him which I did as long as I could. There was a gentleman came down from the neighborhood of Columbus by name of Ezekiel Robertson and claimed the Negroes that Factor had in his possession. I told him that I was willing to compare titles and if his right was thought to be better than the Indians I would give them to him without putting him to any more trouble about them. He readily consented to the proposition. The day was appointed for the rights to be investigated. I met with my papers and other proof I deemed necessary. At a late hour in the day he came and stated that he could not procure his papers, that he had left them with Isaac Brown and he had gone down the river and the probability was that he had them with him. Though late in the evening we heard the boat coming up the river and then there could be no excuse about getting his papers for Brown had returned. His reply was then that he would sue me for the Negroes as that would put a final end to any further disputes about

titles. I told him that I was perfectly willing to do that; but he took care not to do it but lay about Lick a Wolf and when he thought that he was forgotten gathered a company of about 15 or 16 men of his own choosing and took the Negroes out of possession of the said Factor by force of arms and carried them off. The old woman and her son Billy has made their escape from him and another got back to the territory again. Their is yet behind the old Indian's only daughter and two or three little children in possession of Robertson using them as slaves who has no more right to them than you have. . . . The Indians taken by Robertson is some 75 or 80 miles up the river in Stewart County, Georgia.

DANIEL BOYD⁶⁰

Many documents are found to substantiate the above record.⁶¹ It may, also be noted that similar records are to be found coming from other Indian tribes.⁶²

The archives of the Indian office show that white men raided the country of the Seminoles; carried away Indian-Negroes, and there was not sufficient power to protect the Indians. The loyalty with which the Indian and the Negro united in these conflicts seems to indicate kindred of blood as well as kindred of sympathy. In 1835 General Wiley Thompson, commanding the American forces in Florida, said of the Florida Indian-Negroes, "They are descended from the Seminoles, and are connected by consanguinity. . . ."⁶³ In 1837 General Jessup wrote to the Secretary of War, "The two races are rapidly approximating. . . ."⁶⁴

Other tribes of the Southwest, in addition to the Creek and Seminole, intermarried with the Negro. The claim has been advanced that the Choctaw did not intermarry with the Negro, but a census of the Choctaw tribe, 1834, shows that this claim is not justified by fact.⁶⁵ In this census such persons as the following may be identified:

⁶⁰ *O.I.A., Florida File Letters Received*, July 15, 1838.

⁶¹ *O.I.A., Florida File, Letters Received*, April 22, 1837; May 14, 1837; April 20, 1837; Nov. 20, 1838.

⁶² Bland, T., *The Bland Papers*, p. 25.

⁶³ *O.I.A., Florida File, Letters Received*, Jan. 19, 1835.

⁶⁴ *O.I.A., Seminole Emigration File, Letters Received*, June 16, 1837.

⁶⁵ Abel, *The American Indian as a Slave Holder and Secessionist*, Vol. I, p. 20.

Jacob O'Reare, a mulatto, half Indian and half Negro, five persons are in his family.

James Blue, a Negro-Indian man, has an Indian wife; there are five persons in his family.

William Lightfoot, a mulatto, half Indian and half Negro, six persons are in his family.

Jim Tom, half breed Negro, has an Indian wife, four persons are in his family.

Jacob Daniel, has a half Indian and half Negro for a wife, seven persons are in his family.⁶⁶

The records of the Indian seem to show that in many instances the Indian intermarried freely with the Negro, but the records, by no means, can be taken to describe the extent of intermixture of the two races. Marriage among the Indian tribes was not a matter of legal record.⁶⁷ A letter from the Southwest dated 1833 recites that "some of the Indians have several wives, who sometimes live in different towns, and at considerable distance from each other, they are allowed by the Indian to own property not subject to their husbands and from the facility with which they can at any time dissolve their marriage contracts it will be extremely difficult to determine who among them will be entitled to reserves."⁶⁸ An Alabama court declared that "marriage among the Indian tribes must generally be considered as taking place in a state of nature."⁶⁹ Another Alabama decision held that " . . . It was proved that under the laws and customs of the Creek tribe, a man was allowed to take a wife, and abandon her at pleasure, and that this worked an absolute dissolution of the marriage state, and that the parties were not allowed to marry again until after the succeeding annual green corn dance."⁷⁰ In Tennessee

⁶⁶ *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. VII, 1834-1835, p. 39.

⁶⁷ Bantram, *Observations on the Creek and Cherokee Indians*, p. 65; Lawson, *History of Carolina*, pp. 157-189; Murat, *A Moral and Political Sketch of the United States of North America*, pp. 47-8; Logan, *History of the Upper Country of South Carolina*, Ch. XI; Swanton, *Indians of The Lower Mississippi Valley*, pp. 94-99.

⁶⁸ *O.I.A., Creek File, Letters Received*, May 13, 1833.

⁶⁹ 11, *Alabama, Wall vs. Williams*, p. 826.

⁷⁰ 13, *Alabama, Wells vs. Wells*, p. 793.

a court declared that, “. . . Gideon Morgan and Margaret Morgan, alias Servier, were married according to the usages of the Cherokee tribe of Indians in that part of the territory of the Cherokees which was within the limits of the State of Tennessee, in 1813; that all that was necessary by their usages was a public agreement to live together as man and wife. . . .”¹¹

Much evidence can be produced to illustrate the ease with which the Indian contracted or dissolved marriage. Under conditions such as these it is impossible to say whether the slave woman of the Indian was wife or concubine. The effect of this condition upon the Negro woman is shown in a report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1866. Says he, “There is a large number of young freedwomen who have from one to eight children, born while they were slaves, and who never had husbands. Many of these children are mixed bloods, and, with a home may make quite valuable citizens.”¹²

When the Indians were finally sent beyond the Mississippi remnants of the tribes evaded the orders of the United States Government and refused to move. These people were then in a situation similar to that of the remnants of tribes of the Eastern States. They, like their kindred of the Eastern States, began to be absorbed by the Negro population. In 1859 a petition to the Commissioner of Indian affairs from the State of Mississippi recites that “we the undersigned petitioners would respectfully represent that there is a small tribe of Choctaw Indians scattered through our midst in portions of the following counties in the state of Mississippi: Neshoba, Scott, Gasper, Newton and Leake, and we represent that owing to the depredations of the said tribe and the amalgamation of the Indians and blacks, it is the desire of the said subscribers as well as the expressed

¹¹ Humphrey, (Tenn.) *Morgan vs. McGhee*, p. 42; McKinnon, *History of Walton County*, pp. 62-66, 96-7; Abel, op. cit. Vol. III, p. 253.

¹² *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1866*, p. 286.

wish of the most intelligent of the tribe that they be removed from the said quarters.'"³

In all the Southern States the records of the courts reveal many examples of efforts to prove that persons of doubtful ancestry were descendents of Indians and not of Negroes. These very interesting cases, also, display the difficulty that confronted the court in its effort to determine the pedigree of such persons. The existence of conditions of this kind is further evidence of the impossibility of determining the extent of the intermixture of the Indian and the Negro. Where the Negro was brought into contact with the American Indian the blood of the two races intermingled. The Indian has not disappeared from the land, but is now a part of the Negro population of the United States.

J. H. JOHNSTON

³ *O.I.A., Choctaw File, March 1, 1859; Loomis, Scenes in the Indian Country, p. 200.*

CARPET-BAGGERS

"Carpet-bagger" issued here advisedly in the sense that President Hoover used the term "reconstruction," referring to the rehabilitation of the recently flooded area of the South. He thought of it as a term of sympathy instead of one of hate. "This," said he, "should be the task of a generous North to a resolute and courageous South."

When the late Mrs. Hammond, author of "The Vanguard of a Race,"—one of the brave and patriotic leaders in the Interracial Movement, came to speak before a New York guild a few years ago, the presiding officer greeted her; and, as she helped Mrs. Hammond to lay off her coat, knowing she was a Virginian who married a Georgian and lived on Long Island, an imp possessed the hostess to say, "So you are a Carpet-bagger!"

Quick and fiery came the reply, "What do you mean?"

"I mean that you were born in one state and choose to live in another. My brother-in-law was Carpet-bag Governor of Florida."

Again she flashed back, "He must have been a very bad man"; and the answer came, "He was one of the best men I ever knew."

Today we attempt to draw a skeleton from the closet which the nation has been too supine to open for fifty years; to give instances of Carpet-baggers, (of men who went from the North believing in good faith that under the flag of the Union they had helped to preserve, they could take their ideas and principles with them) and to show that such as these laid the very foundation of financial rehabilitation of the South at immense loss to themselves; and they gave impetus to a mass, inert, hopelessly ignorant, inefficient and defenseless, whose successors today number scholars, philosophers, painters, poets, composers, singers, and other artists of the first rank because they were true to a vision—as Kipling remarks,

Such gardens are not made
By saying "Oh! how beautiful!"
And sitting in the shade.

For there were carpet-baggers of whom the North and South were alike unworthy whose names should be freed from the class connotation the word carpet-bagger has everywhere accumulated through systematized abuse and fawning acceptance.

My first witness stands forth from Perry's lovely biography of that rare soul, Henry Lee Higginson; he who created the first of our permanent symphony orchestras and sustained it for thirty-seven years from his private purse at a cost of over a million dollars, who gave to Harvard the Soldiers Field to foster patriotism and the Harvard Union as a meeting place for democracy and through many other channels poured the rich bounties of a wise and loving soul.

A youth, he entered Harvard, but when his eyes failed he went abroad and remained eighteen months, leaving behind friends made at Harvard and the Latin School destined to be known later as Bishop Brooks, Colonel Shaw of the Black Regiment, the Lowells, Adamses, Bancrofts, Cabots, etc., already knit to him with hooks of steel.

In this wander-year he discovered his supreme love for music. When he came home for work, his father's and uncle's firm, Lee, Higginson and Company, was too small a concern to afford an opening, and he found it in the India Trade. Two ventures of his own in Indigo were allowed while on India Wharf. He spent the result of one in equipping a good-looking Irishman to go with his family as a settler to Kansas. "I fitted him out with clothes and arms," said he, "and he got as far as Albany, set his family adrift and went elsewhere."¹

With his friend, Charles Russell Lowell, Higginson was among those who followed the mob escorting Burns back

¹ Bliss Perry's *Life and Letters of Henry Lee Higginson*. All of the following quotations with respect to Higginson are from the same source.

to slavery "and," said he, "we swore the thing should be redressed and it was!"

Higginson left trade because he had received a legacy of \$13,000, and because his friend Lowell had been sent to Italy according to the accepted treatment of the times for tuberculosis and was not gaining. Higginson met him in Venice, bought a horse and cart for himself and the luggage, and a horse for Lowell to ride, and after three months of open air they reached Dresden, "Charles much improved." Higginson settled for study in Vienna, for "Music," said he, "is almost my inner world." He hoped to make it his profession, but after a vein was opened in his arm to relieve a headache, he lost a pianist's use of his hand. The youth was a curious compound—living the laborious days of an ascetic, spending on opera, theater, and, most freely, on another's need while skimping on nonessentials like clothes.

His father encouraged his one extravagance, writing "One of the obligations assumed with the gifts which your Heavenly Father confers is to avail of such opportunities of serving others needs."

In fateful November, 1860, he leaves loved friends, Du Maurier, the Bancrofts and Adamses, and turns homeward. Lincoln has been elected, cotton is no longer king, corn has not been enthroned, business is dead. Patriotism came aflame with Sumter, and Higginson and his friends enlisted, and trained at Brook Farm. He transferred into the cavalry to serve through the war, but in 1865, Major Higginson, slashed across the cheek, shot through the base of the spine and elsewhere, was invalided home. He was hopelessly out of it. His friend Lowell was Colonel of Cavalry and betrothed to a sister of Col. Robert G. Shaw. In later life we know her as Mrs. Josephine Shaw Lowell, founder of the Charity Organization Society and the State

* *Ibid.*, 83.

* This thought became the ideal of his life.

Charities Aid of New York. Higginson married a daughter of Prof. Agassiz.

After a short period of employment by an oil company, enters the Carpet-bagger. He writes, "At the end of the war many of us needed to earn our bread. I had about \$4,000. We had done our best to upset the social conditions in the South and helped free the Negroes and it seemed fair that we should try to help in their education." Capt. Channing Clapp and Col. Chas. T. Morse, old college friends, joined him in buying a plantation in October '65, some thirty miles from Savannah. They paid \$28,000 for "from four to six thousand acres," one thousand under cultivation, with excellent house, Negro quarters, cotton and ginhouses, gin, gristmill, barns, etc. "Negroes have never left, and wish to stay. We can see no obstacle to a peaceful life and ultimate success," he writes.

Morse and Clapp took charge of outside work, while Higginson scrubbed, hammered and whitewashed the house. When he whitewashed beside black "January" it gave labor a new aspect. "Once let the suspicion that they will be reduced to slavery pass and we shall have a reliable set of hands."⁴

The first cloud came in a long talk in Savannah with an old Harvard man, an ex-Confederate. Higginson observes:

They feel no interest in the present state of public affairs. Their whole theory of government, their personal property, everything but their acres, has vanished. They will not vote, they do not care to be represented, and they expect to embarrass the Government in this way.

It is the old error that the South is in itself a first class power, and carries in her hand the destinies of the world. Ignorance of history, of science, of the living world is at the bottom of it.⁵

He went north and brought back Mrs. Higginson after the holidays. Two days elapsed and her diary reads, "They

⁴What Higginson says here in his diary is no exception to the records left by others. One of the main reasons for the vagrancy of some Negroes was the belief that they might be re-enslaved.

⁵See Perry's *Life and Letters of Henry Lee Higginson*, 262.

haven't the remotest idea of time and are forgetful, but pleasant and kind and ready to learn." The Major writes to his father, "She has to teach them almost everything. Washing and ironing are unknown. Do you know that these people eat at odd times, standing up, one by one, not together? Man and wife receive wages and pay out separately—not paying each other's debts. You never saw such strange and unpleasant work as keeping store for these people. Give me five cents sugar. I change the dollar bill and weigh out the sugar. Give me five cents hard bread. I make change again and so on for tobacco and flour. Each time they receive the whole change before ordering again."⁶

May brings flies, fleas, mosquitoes, snakes, and sickness. June '66 finds the Major and Mrs. Higginson teaching reading and writing to fifteen. But soon her health requires that she must go North, and the Major writes, "Their future is a mystery as dark as their skins. They learn quickly but their moral perceptions are deficient. They know it is wrong to lie and steal but they do it continually"; so on Sundays the Major preaches in their little church.

Hopes of the cotton crop vanish with drought and rains and the Major writes to his wife, troubled by expenses, "Please remember one great reason for coming here was the work to be done for these blacks. Money is less valuable than time and thought and labor which you have given, and will give freely."⁷

The second Christmas at Coltenham, there was a great tree with presents for all the women and children and candy for everybody, but Mrs. Higginson confides to her diary, "These imperturbable darks! The more I see of them the more inscrutable do they become."

* The slaves had had little experience in doing for themselves. Their first procedure along independent lines seemed crude.

⁷ A considerable number of Northerners went south to improve the situation by modern methods of farming, and some Southerners invited Northern laborers to come down to take the places of "vagrant" freedmen; but neither project actually succeeded.

The house maids left immediately after Christmas. Arrived ragged and foul Lavinia from the town. "I took her to the washroom where there was a big fire, filled a bucket with warm water and proceeded." That reticent "proceeded" from Professor Agassiz's daughter is worthy of Miss Ophelia in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Lavinia proved cheerful and could repeat the Lord's prayer.

By the middle of January all the well paid field hands threatened to leave. Minor annoyances increased. Supplies were stolen from the wharf in Savannah and in the house. Mr. Rogers had really owned only half the acres he sold to the Yankees. The heat increased, also rats, mice, flies, fleas, and malaria—of which Mrs. Higginson had a touch. She wanted to stay a year longer and she writes, "I am sorry to go, for I shall leave this place with a sense of utter failure. Failure to do any good except the little I have done in school."

Col. Morse stayed on, for the crop of '67 looked promising until September when caterpillars ruined it. The Massachusetts men finally settled their account that fall; they had sunk \$65,000. Higginson's share was \$8,000. That \$65,000 was Carpet-baggers' contribution to rebuilding Georgia—or rather the lesser part of their contribution.

A timely change had come in Higginson's affairs. His brothers-in-law, Alexander Agassiz and Quincy Shaw, had secured control of the Calumet and Heckla mines, destined in a score of years, to pour out \$150,000,000 in a golden flood.

Higginson had put into shares when they were only a few dollars each, a legacy from his Grandfather. He came north, escaping the terrors of the Ku Klux period in the South, became a member of Lee, Higginson & Company, and was in circumstances to present to Harvard, first of his great gifts, the Soldiers Field, that memorial to six of his friends who had died in the Civil War. James Russell

Lowell, Charles' uncle, wrote the inscription for the gift, closing with Emerson's lines,

Tho' sense repine and reason chafe
There came a voice without reply
'Tis man's perdition to be safe
When for the truth he ought to die.

Chief among these friends commemorated was the one whom he had restored to health in Italy. Col. Charles Russell Lowell had had thirteen horses shot under him in that last campaign. He died charging at the head of his brigade to hold back the enemy while Sheridan was riding for Winchester. A month before, he had written to Higginson,

I feel very sorry old fellow, at your being obliged to give up (the army); however, there is work enough for a public spirited cove everywhere.

Labor for recruits and Linkum. I hope, Mr. Higginson, that you are going to live like a plain Republican, mindful of the beauty and duty of simplicity. It is disreputable to spend money when the Government is hard up. Don't grow rich: if you once begin, you will find it much more difficult to be a useful citizen. The useful citizen is a mighty unpretentious hero, but we are not going to have any country very long unless such heroism is developed.*

Between 1867 when Higginson and his friends left Georgia, and the time when Governor Tilden came into National prominence through his effective aid against the Tweed and canal rings, the Ku Klux and similar orders had swept the South clean of Unionist leaders, Negroes of ability, Southern Unionists, and Northerners who had ventured to establish themselves there; more, according to thirty volumes of Congressional investigation—for Congress was obliged in 1871 to face the result of governmental cowardice—than all the losses of the Confederacy in the war. And the counter-revolution had succeeded in every State with three exceptions, Florida, Mississippi, and South

* Letter of Charles Russell Lowell to Henry Lee Higginson in *Perry's Life and Letters of Henry Lee Higginson*, 232-233.

Carolina. In the others, slavery had come back under forms of law, and though the proportional vote of the South was based upon the population (so over-balancing the vote of the free States) the blacks were (and remain) generally disfranchised to this day.

In the latest book on the period, *The Dreadful Decade*, and in the recent 75th Anniversary Number of *The New York Times*, we read of conditions hardly less disgraceful in the North in that post war period. Tweed and his colleagues are shining lights; they are estimated to have appropriated between fifty and one hundred millions of New York City's money. Beside them, Governor Moses of South Carolina pales. His gang increased the debt of South Carolina only fourteen million, although the legislature voted to reimburse the Speaker \$1,000 for a lost wager and included in legislative supplies items like corsets, a metallic coffin, and hams. Moses was not a Carpet-bagger, by the way. He was born in South Carolina and served among the Confederates who fired on Fort Sumter.

Judge Albion Tourgee from Ohio who settled in North Carolina and was a Judge of the Supreme Court, has given us a Carpet-bagger's view of the reconstruction period in lively novel form under the title, *A Fool's Errand by one of the Fools*. The hero is a colonel who returns after the war to his midwest home, where he had left a flourishing law practice—with pulmonary weakness caused by wounds. Finding his law practice absorbed by others and the climate unkind, he takes his wife, his four year old daughter, whose acquaintance he makes for the first time, and his \$10,000 to Virginia, where he buys a plantation, and like Higginson, is defrauded in the title. He stays through the Ku Klux period with thrilling and harrowing experiences—incidents which are authentic.

Woodrow Wilson writes in his history, "There was unquestionably a deliberate and concerted effort made by the whites of the South to shut the negroes out by some means

from an effective use of his vote and sometimes the effort took the most flagrant forms of violence.”⁹

It is a coincidence that the Governors of these three States which held out longest for a faithful observance of the national law in the new Constitutions of the States of South Carolina, Louisiana and Florida, had served together and were photographed together when young lieutenants as judges of Courts Martial in 1862 in New Orleans. One of them, the Honorable Daniel C. Chamberlain, the last carpet-bagger Governor of South Carolina, succeeded Moses in 1872. Chamberlin was a native of Massachusetts, graduated from Yale with its most coveted prize. He had studied at Harvard and served as Lieutenant in a Negro regiment. According to Hayworth, “He set his face against corrupt schemes of his unscrupulous party associates, and with the aid of conservatives and of honest members of his own political faith, he managed to check the carnival of misrule that had so long disgraced the state. By so doing he won high encomiums not only in the North but also among Southern conservatives.”¹⁰

Louisiana was the second State still under Unionist government in 1876, Mary T. Reilly in her published poems relates her experiences there. Her father, a Presbyterian Minister from New Jersey, moved to Louisiana in 1865 where she lived until she entered the Normal School of her native State. She was graduated with highest honors at the age of twenty and returned home in 1876 to be swept away with all her family by yellow fever that summer.

Several of her poems which received high praise from poets and critics, recount events in her home county. John Gair of East Feliciana, is a story of the murder of a Negro leader by the Ku Klux.

. . . .He was young and strong, sah;
But de white folks t’ought

⁹ Wilson, *Division and Reunion*, 274.

¹⁰ Haworth, *The United States in Our Times*, 59-60; and *News and Courier*, April 8, 1875.

Lection times would go off betteh
If John Gair was caught.

I spare you the details. . . .

"The Carpet-bagger," who gives his name to another poem, comes out astonishingly well; but that was while the National Government still functioned in Louisiana. He appears suddenly before a crowd of Ku Klux who surround his house, shoots a way out and disappears.

But dat wa'n't de end of him yet, Sah,
You'd a t'ought he'd a-kep' away den
But dah aint no accountin' for some folks
An' one mawnin' he com back again—

De people dat got him away, sah,
Had tuk all hes b'longin's of cawse
Misteh Allen was usin his dwellin'
An' his brother was usin' his hawse—

But what did dis heah Lawrence do, sah,
But get out a bill in de couht
Agains' de bes' men in de parish
Fo' stealin de goods he had bought.

An' sence de jedge an' de sheriff
Was bofe of 'em Publicans den
Dey had bofe dah genmen arrested
Fo' dat Yankee—de meanes' of men!

In the third State, Louisiana, conditions were worse. The whites were largely Roman Catholic creoles and the blacks, many of them, the type that was sold down the river. The unionists were massacred by hundreds, not singly. The State was one of several in the South which had repudiated its debts before the war. Whether it could have righted itself as South Carolina had done, the few months of Governor Packard's tenure of office were too short to show.

History has passed upon Chamberlain of South Carolina as we have seen. Let us see what the last carpet-bag governor of Florida really was—from contemporary evidence. Was he "a very bad man"? The Honorable Marcellus L. Stearns was a Maine boy. He bore a strong resemblance to his direct ancestor, Benjamin Russell, 1761-1845, Major of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery, editor of the

Boston Sentinel, a friend of Washington, Franklin, and Hancock, whose portrait hangs in Faneuil Hall; a man of such political influence that Congress adjourned in his honor on his rare visits to the Capital. *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* records that Major Russell "combined real ability with moderation of temper and singular modesty and disinterestedness."

Stearns was a scholarly boy who could repeat whole pages of Milton. He left College in 1861 in his junior year, to enlist as a private. As Lieutenant he was one of the Volunteers of the Forlorn Hope of Port Hudson to whom Congress voted Medals of Honor. At Winchester in September, 1864, his superior officers having been shot down, he was leading a charge when his sword arm was completely shattered and his left wrist shot through. His right arm amputated at the shoulder, he was transferred to the Veteran Reserve Corps, and read law. He was assigned later to duty in the Department of the Freedmen's Bureau, at Quincy, the old capital of Florida. In the same year, 1868, he was admitted to the Bar. Having purchased a home at Quincy, by force of circumstances he entered political life, so congenial to his inherited taste and his native capacities. He was a member of the Legislature and Speaker of the House for four years, and Surveyor General of the State under appointment by General Grant from 1869 to 1873 when he was elected Lieutenant Governor, but served as Governor from 1874 to 1877. As candidate for election as Governor, he was the central figure of his party in the terrible political struggle which ensued in Florida, a pivotal state in the National election of 1876. From this fierce ordeal he came out untarnished, and, as Senator Carlisle of Kentucky said of him, "He commanded the universal respect of both parties. Too much cannot be said in his honor."¹⁰ Although his vote for Governor ran well ahead of the Republican vote for President, he, with Gover-

¹⁰ John G. Carlisle, *speech*, etc.

nor Chamberlain and Governor Packard, was unseated as we know. The Democrats were given the three State governments and relinquished the Presidency to the Republicans.

Governor Stearns, now out of office, served as one of three commissioners appointed by President Hays to determine certain land claims of importance at Hot Springs, Arkansas, from 1877 to 1880; and under the Interior Department, he made a tour of Florida to report on Governmental projects—a service which his knowledge of the state made invaluable.

In 1886, after a summer in Europe he returned to his home in Florida, but, in 1887, he was called to the Presidency of the National bank in Atlantic, Iowa. In 1890 after a stroke, his left side paralysed completely at first, his right arm, as we know, gone, he resigned from the bank and his public life ended.

He fell on tempestuous times. He was beautiful in form and feature, dignified and benignant. His foresight, his gift for reading and managing men, marked him as a statesman. His honesty of purpose and self-control were steadfast and he was eliminated when Florida needed him most. I find this yellowed scrap among Governor Stearns' papers; the lines describe his attitude of mind.

O beautiful! my country!

What words devine of lover or of poet

Could tell our love and make thee know it,

Among the nations bright beyond compare?

What were our lives without thee?

What all our lives to save thee?

We reck not what we gave thee;

We will not dare to doubt thee,

But ask whatever else, and we will dare!

Governor Stearns believed in education. A very interesting copy of¹ *The Tallahassee Sentinel* of May 13, 1876, suggests what might have been accomplished in Florida, what hopes were ruined with the Unionists. Ten and a

¹ Now in the Library of Congress.

third columns of solid print are devoted, to quote the headlines, to the "Grand Imposing Dedicatory Ceremonies of Lincoln Academy"—"Over eight hundred School Children in Procession—The finest demonstration ever witnessed in Tallahassee. Addressed by Governor M. L. Stearns and seven others." Imagine "the finest building for school purposes in the state"—constructed for the use of colored children! In the procession representatives from many cities and counties."

We doubt if ever has been a deeper interest in the cause of education than was exhibited by those who were present at this dedication. The colored children met at the Capitol in neat costumes, each school headed by its teachers and carrying a banner trimmed with fresh flowers and inscribed with the name and number of the school. At the Capitol over one hundred flags were presented and banners reading "Lincoln Academy, our Hope and Pride," "Education the sure Defense of Liberty," "Universal Education is the Mission of our Public School System," "Free Schools for All," etc.

The Chairman of the County Board accepted the Keys of a building "perfect in plan and thorough in workmanship." "God grant that the future of the Academy may be as excellent and beneficial to the generation as the service of him whose name it bears was to our country." Then the Superintendent of the county schools gave a history of the building. The destruction of the former school house, built by the Freedman's Bureau, in 1872 left the colored children without accommodations worthy of the name. Want of means prevented building again until June, 1875—when a site was bought for \$237.50. Careful plans were made, and the contract was let to the lowest bidder of \$4,375 for a cruciform building, its main hall 60 by 30, with wings 32 by 22, each containing two rooms. There is a truss roof of great strength, and flooring "deafened" with one and one-half inch of mortar between double floors. The windows have best pulleys and cords, sash locks and rolling slat blinds,—the doors have best brass-face locks; wainscoting, chalk-shelves, plastering, black boards, wardrobe closets are among the marvels produced from that \$4,375, crowned by a belfry containing a 500 pound Meneely bell and topped by a flag staff!

And the furniture, for which seven hundred dollars is still owing, is Peerless desks of alternate strips of walnut and ash, graded for 220 children from eight to twenty-one years. The Principal's platform holds two brass-mounted terrestrial globes and an Estell program clock (whatever that may be). Could any northern state have done more!

Governor Stearns said he had hastened back from South Florida where he beheld every evidence of progress and improvement, to witness this interesting and important occasion. "The event we are here to hail and celebrate would inspire anyone who loves his country and the cause of education to thought and speech. The State of Florida is waking up and moving grandly forward in the cause of education. In no state of the South I believe, according to our means is the common school system more highly prized or more efficiently administered.

"This schoolhouse is a landmark of your progress—a proof that your educational acquirements and advancement are such as to demand increased facilities. It is indeed gratifying to me that these things have been accomplished and such progress made during the time I have had the honor to administer the Government of our beloved State. It is the settled purpose of the Government to extend the privileges of free schools to all as the only sure and certain defense of our liberties and safe-guard of the future. An intelligent Government can only be secured and maintained by an intelligent people. The Government must have a care for the children of the State and protect them as its treasure and then, when they have come to full years of manhood and womanhood, it can command and will receive protection from them. This day is especially significant as the Centenary Birthday of our nation when the ceremonies incident to the opening of the Centennial Exhibition are taking place in Philadelphia.

"But these proceedings here mark the opening of a new future for Florida by offering greater facilities for the diffusion of knowledge among the people."

The Mayor followed, saying that "the children who will attend school in this elegant building and play around these beautifully inclosed grounds are not going to let the older people rest content in their present quarters. You will have to improve your dwellings. When I was a boy in the old and wealthy county of Chester, Pennsylvania, one of the pioneers in the cause of free schools, they did not drive things so fast. The first schoolhouse that I got acquainted with was a log house, chunked and plastered in the crevices. No green blinds there,—the seats, well, no one had a patent for making them; a slab with the sawed side up and inch and a half auger holes in which the supports were inserted,—well, there was no varnish used. What a contrast to this splendid schoolhouse only eleven years since freedom!

"There are two thoughts suggested by the yet remaining effects of slavery to which I will briefly refer. While you are seeking to improve your minds with book knowledge, remember that a character for integrity—a character for manly reliability and fidelity and truthfulness is something without which all the learning you can acquire is a mockery and a snare.

"You should also cherish to the utmost and uphold the dignity and honor of manual labor. No occupation that is useful can be dishonorable. To make a child master of a good occupation is the best that can be given him. If you are going to school with the idea of escaping work—this school had better be torn down and scattered to the four winds. The purpose of education is not to avoid labor, but to make it more efficient."

The State Superintendent of Education gave an ornate and lengthy address covering seven columns, with long quotations from Aristotle, Guizot, John Stuart Mill and Horace Mann, and statistical reports on the relation of education to crime, which, it is hoped, the audience eleven years out of slavery and the eight hundred school children appreciated. But he also added his quota of sound sense as to the true method of reconstruction. "If we must go forth to fight Goliath as we must, let us not forget the smooth stones from the brook. The ballot in ignorant hands is a menace to the very liberty it represents. You will not need to be politicians to fight intrigue with intrigue, rottenness with rottenness, meanness with meanness, but it is absolutely necessary to become educated.

"Public opinion sometimes sets law at defiance and takes on the stride of the old regime, but these paroxysms are becoming more infrequent. This opposing public sentiment is something to conciliate and overcome—to win and control by respectful recognition and the unfolding of a better way. Education will impart to you a dignity of character which will enable you to treat it with that charity which suffereth long and is kind. Suffrage was a substitute for the Freedmen's Bureau. You were homeless, landless, penniless, hungry, and destitute, hence the Freedmen's Bureau, beneficent alike to black and white, intended to assist you in your creeping days. Then came the coercive measures in various states the framing of constitutions in accord with the new era, the common school system with its army of patient, plodding, praying, sacrificing and ostracized teachers,—men and women. . . . They believe in a future for you; men, not politicians, citizens, not communists; Americans, not 'niggers;' neighbors, not predatory evil doers; educated patriots, not loafers nor political hangers-on.

" 'I plead the cause of education that shall heighten general welfare and establish the sacredness of the marriage relation,—contribute to the productiveness of labor. Your future no more depends upon your right to vote than upon the incantation of a sorcerer. It is with indescribable feelings of patriotism, goodwill, veneration and hope that I dedicate this (beautiful building) to the work of building and preserving the state.' After this oration and 'fine efforts' by two honorable gentlemen from Tallahassee, the two bands struck up lively airs and all marched away."

So ended the dedication of the short-lived Lincoln Academy in May 1876. For one's wildest imagination cannot conceive of that Academy bearing a hated name, the best school building in the state, remaining for the use of Negro children, after carpetbag rule ended in 1877. The end is foreshadowed in the same issue of *The Sentinel*. A correspondent of the *New York Times* presents a gloomy picture of the Republican Party from Arkansas. Legislation passed for the protection of Negroes is a dead letter there, as in Mississippi, Alabama and Georgia. White Republicans are forced to leave the country and the Negro leaders are woefully deficient in self-reliance. In one district the vote (Democratic) was larger than the entire population, men, women, and children, and the paragraph ends, "Let Republicans in Florida take warning."

SOPHIA A. WALKER

DOCUMENTS

DIGEST OF DOCUMENTS IN THE ARCHIVES OF THE INDIES, SEVILLE, SPAIN, BEARING ON THE NEGROES IN CUBA AND ESPECIALLY THOSE EMPLOYED IN THE MINAS DE COBRE

The main point of interest here is that these Negroes of the Minas de Cobre early presented their claim to freedom and made such a deep impression with the reasons advanced that officials had to direct their attention to the matter. They contended among other things that they were the property of His Majesty and in the transfer of the mines they became entitled to freedom. This and other matters of historical value are pointed out in these interesting and valuable materials.

- 55-1-32. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Isla de Cuba. Consultas y Decretos. Años 1714 a 1730. Estante, 55, Cajón, 1, Legajo, 32.
1. 1715, Junio, 13. Madrid. El Consejo de Indias a Su Majestad. 2 pliegos incluyendo 1 y 1/2. Cumpliendo con una real orden de Su Majestad representa lo que se le ofrece en la instancia que tiene Don Juan Bautista Joncheè, Factor que ha sido del Asiento de Negros en la Habana. (Original)
 2. 1715, Diciembre, 1. Madrid. La Junta de Indultos a Su Majestad. 3 pliegos incluyendo 1 y 2 medios. Satisfaciendo a un real decreto de Su Majestad que bajó con memorial de Don Juan Bautista Jonchee, Factor que ha sido del Asiento de Negros; es de parecer le conceda Su Majestad lo que pide con la calidad que la Junta expresa. (Original)
 3. 1720, Diciembre, 20. Madrid. El Consejo de Indias a Su Majestad. 1 pliego. Satisfaciendo a real orden de Su Majestad con que se sirvió remitir una carta y testimonio del Gobernador de la Habana, en que da cuenta de haberse conseguido recaudar 1.500 pesos

pertenecientes a ingleses del tiempo que corrieron con el Asiento de Negros; dice a su Majestad lo que se le ofrece. (Original)

55-1-33. Audiencia de Santa Domingo. Cuba. Consultas &. Años de 1731 a 1766. Estante, 55, Cajón, 1, Legajo, 33.

1. 1744, Julio, 7. Madrid. El Marqués de la Regalía al de la Ensenada. 2 medios pliegos incluyendo 3 pliegos. Que Don José Antonio Gelabert, Contador mayor e las Islas de Barlovento y vecino de la Habana, le ha hecho con fecha de 22 de Abril de este año, la representación que acompaña y en ella supone que pasarán de seis mil piezas de negros las que allí se han introducido furtivamente antes y después de la guerra con Inglaterra. (Original)
2. 1761, Febrero, 26. Madrid. El Consejo de Indias a ? 1/2 pliego incluyendo 2 medios. Sobre decomiso de siete negros hecho a Don José Rodríguez Guijarro por la ilícita introducción de ellos. (Extracto)
3. 1763, Julio, 14. Madrid. El Consejo de Indias a ? 2 medios pliegos. Dice lo que se le ofrece en vista de una carta del Gobernador de Cuba que se le remitió de real orden de 11 de Agosto del año próximo pasado, y de testimonio de las diligencias actuadas sobre la aprehensión de trece negros y otros géneros, que se hizo en el Macanal, jurisdicción del Bayamo, a Florencio Donnaban de nación irlandés. (Extracto)
4. 1764, Septiembre, 10. Madrid. El Consejo de Indias a ? 1/2 pliego. Dice que en carta de 29 de Octubre de 1761, remitieron el Gobernador y Oficiales Reales de la Habana, dos testimonios de autos actuados con motivo del hallazgo de tres negros en las inmediaciones del Castillo del Morro y expresa lo que se dedujo de sus declaraciones y otras diligencias. (Extracto)
5. 1765, Julio, 4 y Agosto, 16. Habana. El Intendente Altarriba a ? 1/2 pliego incluyendo 3 medios. Expresa que de cuenta del Asiento de Don José Vil-

lanueva, se vendieron distintas cabezas de negros de los separados por inútiles al servicio del Rey y ocurrió la duda sobre si se adeudaron el derecho de alcabala establecido posteriormente, y sobre ello dice lo que le parece. (Extracto)

6. 1765, Julio, 24. Habana. El Intendente de Ejército a . . . ? 1/2 pliego. Expresa las resultas que ocurrieron de la publicación del Bando para presentar a la marca los negros comprados a ingleses durante su dominación. (Extracto)

7. 1766, Abril, 8. Cuba. El Gobernador a . . . ? 2 medios pliegos. Dice que por un Corsario de aquel Puerto Habían aprehendídose en el año de 62, quince negros a la parte del Sur de las Colonias francesas y en solicitud de ellos entró una Goleta de esta Nación etc. (Extracto)

8. 1766, Octubre, 31. Madrid. El Consejo de Indias a . . . ? 2 medios pliegos. Sobre formación de autos en Cuba el año de 62 durante el gobierno de Don Lorenzo Madariaga, con motivo de la introducción de diez negros por la costa de Baracoa. (Extracto)

9. 1766, Noviembre, 20. Madrid. . . . ? al Marqués de Grimaldi. 1/2 pliego. Sobre proceso en el juzgado del Gobierno de Cuba de resultas de la introducción hecha el año de 1762 por las costas de aquellas Islas, de diez negros conducidos en una pequeña embarcación llamada Facatrú, al cargo del inglés Alejandro Josthon y de Juan Equens, Piloto y marinero de ella. (Minuta)

10. 1766, Diciembre, 5. Madrid. El Consejo de Indias a . . . ? 1/2 pliego. Sobre aprehensión y decomiso hecho en la fragata inglesa Fenix empleada en el transporte de negros y harinas del Asiento de Don Cornelio Copinger, para surtimiento de la Habana. 1/2 pliego.

- 55-1-34 Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Cuba. Consultas &. Años de 1767 a 1780. Estante, 55, Cajón, 1, Legajo, 34.

1. 1765, Noviembre, 28. Habana. . . . ? a . . . ? 2 pliegos. Autos testimoniados de las diligencias se-

guidas en la ciudad de le Trinidad sobre aprehensión hecha por un Guarda Costas de la Real Compañía, de una Goleta inglesa en la jurisdicción de Bayamo que contenía a su bordo entre otras cosas, nueve negros de ambos sexos y a la cual se había concedido pasaporte para la pesa de la tortuga en la Isla de Jamaica. (Copia)

2. 1773, Abril, 19. Madrid. El Consejo de Indias a? 1/2 pliego incluyendo 2 medios. Expone su parecer sobre la fuga de un negro de la plaza de la Habana cuando la sitiaron los ingleses y dice en disconformidad con lo expuesto por el Fiscal, no estar este caso comprendido en la cédula de 24 de Septiembre de 1750 ni en la orden de 17 de Abril de 764 que dispensan la libertad a los negros esclavos que se refugiasen de las Colonias inglesas y holandesas a los dominios de Su Majestad con pretexto de abrazar la religión católica. (Extracto)
3. 1773, Septiembre, 20. Madrid. El Consejo de Indias a? 1/2 pliego incluyendo otro 1/2. Conformándose con el dictamen dado por la Contaduría general sobre lo expuesto por el Intendente de Real Hacienda de la Isla de Cuba que habiéndose presentado ante su Subdelegado en el Puerto Príncipe una negra con un hijo, criollos de Jamaica, que introdujo clandestinamente su amo Pedro de Vilar y se le huyó per mal trato; formados autos contra el introductor y no podiéndose averiguar su paradero, la declaró por decomiso y la remató en 300 pesos condenando a Vilar a 4 años a Ceuta y costas, siempre que pareciese. (Extracto)
4. 1774, Enero, 31. Madrid. El Consejo de Indias a? 1/2 pliego. En vista del testimonio de autos que con carta de 16 de Noviembre de 1768 remitió el Gobernador que fué de Cuba Marqués de Casa Cajigal, sobre la arribada a aquel Puerto de la Goleta la Mariana del cargo de Don José Laserre de nación francés, con seis barricas de vino de Burdeos y 16 negros bozales, valuados en 6.750 pesos; aquellas sin más documentos que una carta del Gobernador de Monte

- Christi expresando se enviaban de regalo para el de Cuba; y éstos con solo un pasaporte que decía haber sido manifestados en el de Monte Christi y comprados a vecinos de su jurisdicción, incluyendo 10 de dichos negros como tripulación del barco etc. (Extracto)
5. 1775, Febrero, 18. Madrid. El Consejo de Indias a . . . ? 1/2 pliego. Expone su dictamen sobre varias dudas del Intendente de la Habana, relativas a si debía permitir sin restricción alguna la entrada de los negros de la Nueva Orleans; si impresa la marca deben contribuir los reales derechos y en que cantidad ha de ser la exacción. (Extracto)
6. 1775, Febrero, 18. Madrid. El Consejo de Indias a . . . ? 1/2 pliego. Respondiendo a dudas del Intendente de la Isla de Cuba Don Miguel de Altarriba, es de dictamen de que de ningún modo se permita a los naturales del Neuvo Orleans ya sean franceses o españoles, la trasportación, introducción no venta de sus negros esclavos en la Habana, ni en parte comprendida en las obligaciones del Asiento con pretexto alguno aunque se allanen a la paga de derechos, menos que no sea por medio de la misma Campaña, por ser lo contrario en perjuicio de tercero y que así se les haga saber para que no aleguen ignorancia. (Extracto)
7. 1748 y 1777, Marzo, 26 y Febrero, 28. Madrid. El Consejo de Indias a Su Majestad. 2 pliegos incluyendo 3, 11 medios y dos trozos de papel. Son dos Consultas: por la primera hace presente a Su Majestad las diligencias seguidas en el apresamiento hecho por el Guarda Costas de la Habana el año de 1737, de la Balandra inglesa la Unión, su Capitán Enrique Bennet con negros y otras mercancías; y por la segunda eleva a manos de Su Majestad la sentencia original que le ha parecido dar en justicia. (Extracto)
8. 1778, Febrero, 17. Madrid. El Consejo de Indias a Su Majestad. 2 medios pliegos. Dice lo que se le ofrece sobre la representación hecha por el Gobernador de la Habana en 1766 en punto al establecimiento del derecho de alcabala y disputa sobre lo que debían pagar las ventas voluntarias de los negros y mula-

tos coartados y que había dispuesto que cuando se vendiesen por voluntad de sus dueños o inducidos de algún apremio, pagasen estos indistintamente del mismo modo que se practicaba en la enagenación de los no coartados, pero que siempre que el que no le era obligase a su dueño a que lo vendiese por solo su gusto, le indemnizase, reportando por si o por el comprador el citado derecho. (Extracto)

55-1-35.

Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Cuba. Consultas &. Años de 1792 a 1800. Estante, 55, Cajón, 1, Legajo, 35.

1. 1791, Agosto, 16. Habana. Don Juan de Zequeira y Palma, Regidor honorario del Cabildo a Su Majestad. 1/2 pliego incluyendo 5 y 1/2 pliegos y 2 trozos de papel. Representa que hay en la Isla un crecido número de esclavos prófugos los cuales causan gravísimos perjuicios contra la quietud pública y solicita se sirva Su Majesta autorizarle para prenderlos y devolverlos a sus dueños sin más costo que los de captura y comisión a los aprehensores según arancel. (Extracto)
2. 1793, Febrero, 8. Madrid. El Consejo de Indias a Su Majestad. 1/2 pliego. Trata sobre el proyecto del Gobernador de la Habana de crear unos Capitanes de Partido llamados de facción, para capturar negros fugitivos y otros delincuentes. (Extracto)
3. 1794, Noviembre, 26. Madrid. La Cámara de Indias a Su Majestad. 1/2 pliego incluyendo trozos de otro 1/2. Sobre representación hecha a Su Majestad con justificación e informes del Gobernador y Ayuntamiento de la ciudad de la Habana, el tiempo de residencia en ella con motivo de varios cargamentos de negros conducidos de su cuenta etc. (Extracto)
4. 1798, Noviembre, 29. Habana. El Gobernador y Capitán General de la Isla de Cuba, Conde de Santa Clara a . . . ? 2 medios pliegos incluyendo 2 enteros y 4 medios. Da cuenta con documentos de haberse ejecutado el castigo de horca en dos negros esclavos de la ciudad de la Trinidad en aquella Isla de Cuba, por haber atentado el proyecto de acabar con todos

los blancos de su distrito y espera la real aprobación de las providencias que ha dictado para precaver tan perjudiciales desórdenes. (Extracto)

55-1-36. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Cuba. Consultas &. Años de 1801 a 1813. Estante, 55, Cajón, 1, Legajo, 36.

1. 1802, Octubre, 13. Madrid. Consejo de las Indias de Sala primera a Su Majestad. 3 pliegos incluyendo 2 y 1/2. En cumplimiento de la real orden con que se le remitió una representación del Barón de Carondelet en que solicita se le absuelva de la multa de 300 pesos que se le impuso por la muertede horca que hizo ejecutor en un esclavo del Capitán Don Pedro Marigni, sin precedente consulta del Capitán General de la Habana pasa a las reales manos de Su Majestad la respuesta del Fiscal y conformándose con el dictamen de este Ministro, lo es de que se pase el expediente a la Sala de Justicia para que se oiga en ella a dicho Barón. (Minuta)
2. 1790 y 1803. 1/2 pliego incluyendo 5 enteros impresos; 18 medios, 1/4 y una tira de papel. Expediente de las solicitudes de la Villa de Puerto Príncipe en la Isla de Cuba sobre que se erija en ella un gobierno separado del de la Habana; que se habilite el Puerto de Nuevitas de su jurisdicción para introducción de negros y conceda a su comercio los privilegios que al Puerto de Montecristi; y sobre lo representado por aquella Audiencia con motivo de haber admitido en tiempo de guerra un buque americano con víveres para su socorro. (Los pliegos impresos contienen): eal cédula de Su Majestad concediendo libertad para el comercio de negros con la Isla de Cuba, Santo Domingo, Puerto Rico y Provincia de Caracas, a españoles y extrangeros, bajo las reglas que se expresan.
3. 1804, Enero, 24. Madrid. El Consejo de las Indias a Su Majestad. 1/2 pliego incluyendo 4 medios. Consulta acera de la decisión que deba tomarse con los negros que han emigrado desde la Isla de Santo Domingo a los Puertos de Cuba y Baracoa. (Extracto)

4. 1812, Mayo, 5. Madrid. El Consejo de Indias a Su Majestad. 3 medios pliegos incluyendo 12 enteros y 6 medios. Expediente sobre castigos atroces impuestos por Don Juan González Fraile a una esclava negra.
 5. 1813, Febrero, 6. Madrid. Consulta del Consejo de Estado a . . . ? 1/2 pliego que incluye 56 enteros y 14 medios. Sobre la formación del Carolino Código negro, dirigido por la Audiencia de Cuba. Nota: Hay dentro expediente sobre alzamiento de negros esclavos en aquella Villa y poblaciones inmediatas. &.
- 55-1-37. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Cuba. Consultas &. Años de 1814 a 1833. Estante, 55, Cajón, 1, Legajo, 37.
1. desde 1778, 1798, 99, 802 a 1815. (Muy voluminoso). Expediente sobre reintegrar a Don Manuel García y Fromestra y consortes, en la posesión de las Minas de Cobre de la Villa de Santiago del Prado, jurisdicción de la Habana, como sucesores de Don Juan de Eguiluz y Don Francisco Salazar; que jas de los vecinos de dicha Villa sobre las extorsiones y perjuicios que les han causado los procederes de dicho pueblo, promovidas por Gregorio Osorio y Santiago Barrera Mulato, y licencia a éste para restituirse a su patria. Nota: Comprende los extractos de Consultas de Junio y Noviembre de 1778, 79, 90, 95 y Septiembre de 1802 y 6 de Junio de 1815 y 2 de Julio de 819. (Trata además muy por extenso, sobre los negros de los palenques y los de las minas de cobre y su libertad).
 2. 1816, Abril, 20. Madrid. El Consejo de Indias a Su Majestad. 2 medios pliegos incluyendo 1/2. En vista de instancia hecha por ed exdiputado de Cuba sobre que se conceda al Cuerpo de Morenos de la ciudad de Santiago, la gracia de alzar bandera, vestir uniforme y gozar fuero militar y de lo informado por aquel Capitán General estima (acompañando la respuesta fiscal) que no conviene acceder a esta solicitud ni a otra de esta clase de Puerto Principe que existe en la via reservada y que para evitar disgustos

se mande sobreseer en ambos expedientes sin comunicarse la resolución de Su Majestad. (Extracto)

3. 1816, Julio, 5. Madrid. El Consejo de Indias en Sala primera 3 mados pliegos incluyendo 5 y 1/2. En vista de una instancia que se le remitió para el uso conveniente en que Don Antonio Ignacio Saldaña ex-Sala primera 2 medios pliegos incluyendo 1 y 1/2. Expone su dictamen sobre el memorial de Don José Antonio Riaño, avecindado en la Luisiana, relativo a que se le conceda permiso para trasladarse a Cuba con su familia y haberes, siendo de parecer el Consejo en vista de lo expuesto por la Contaduria y Fiscal de que se le conceda el permiso que desea, libertando de derechos sus muebles y esclavos, y pagándolos de los efectos de comercio que conduzca estimando el Tribunal también que se debe autorizar al capitán General de Cuba para que conceda iguales permisos bajo las mismas circunstancias. (Extracto)

4. 1819, Enero, 18. El Consejo de Indias en Sala primera 3 medios pliegos incluyendo 5 y 1/2. En vista de una instancia que se le remitió para el uso conveniente en que Don Antonio Ignacio Saldaña exponía con documentos haber enviado para contener la insurrección de Cartajena, 283 negros y varios vecinos de la Villa de Santa María la Baja etc. (Extracto)

55-1-38. Secretaría de Nueva España. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Isla de Cuba. Minutas de Consultas y Despachos pertenecientes a aquella Isla. Años 1632 a 1688. Estante, 55, Cajón, 1, Legajo, 38.

1. 1665, Junio, —?? El Rey a? 1 pliego. Su Majestad concede indulto a Juan de Ibieta y a Sebastián de Herroteta, por la culpa que contra ellos puede resultar de haber arribado al puerta de Cuba con algunos esclavos y mercaderías. (Minuta)
2. 1672, Abril, 8. Madrid. Su Majestad al Gobernador de la Habana. 1/2 pliego. Encargándole tenga muy particular cuidado en la entrada de los bajeles del asiento de negros de Domingo Grillo y otros que en-

traren en aquel puerto para evitar los fraudes que en esto se pueden cometer. (Minuta)

3. 1672, Mayo, 23. Madrid. Su Majestad al Gobernador de la Habana. 1/2 pliego. Que informe porque causa dejó de poner negros (de los que llegaron a aquel Puerto del Asiento de Domingo Grillo) en la lancha que sirve a la fortaleza del Morro. (Minuta)
4. 1672, Julio, 9. Madrid. Su Majestad al Gobernador de la Habana. 1/2 pliego. Respuesta a dos puntos de una carta suya que trata sobre la entrada que hizo un pirata francés en la Villa del Cayo y acerca de poner esclavos en los castillos para que manejen la artillería. (Minuta)
5. 1672, Diciembre, 17. Madrid. Su Majestad al Gobernador de Cuba. 1/2 pliego. En respuesta a una carta en que da cuenta de haber llegado a aquel puerto una balandra de Jamaca y de la venta que hizo el Capitán de ella de un negrillo y que lo presidió y volvió al Capitán y entregó en la Caja Real 150 pesos en que se había comprado. (Minuta)
6. 1673, Septiembre, 14. Madrid. Su Majestad al Gobernador y Oficiales Reales de la Habana. 1/2 pliego. Sobre que se ponga en la Caja Real lo procedido de los negros y demás géneros que se hallaron en una embarcación que francisco López de Andrade, apresó a Guillermo Hon y Ricardo Achal, ingleses, en el interin que en justicia se determina la causa. (Minuta)
7. 1675, Enero, —? . . . ? Su Majestad al Gobernador y Oficiales Reales de la Real Hacienda de la Habana. 1 pliego. Avisándoles se ordena al de Cuba, envíe a aquella ciudad los esclavos negros que no se hubieren rescatado para que desde allí pasen 50 a la Florida. (Minuta)
8. 1675, Enero, —? . . . ? Su Majestad al Gobernador de Cuba. 1 pliego. Ordenándole que los esclavos negros que se hallaren en aquella ciudad y no se hubieren rescatado los envíe a la Habana para que desde allí pasen 50 a la Florida. (Minuta)

9. 1675, Noviembre,—? . . . ? Su Majestad al Obispo de Cuba. 1/2 pliego. Que de vuelta de su visita pase por la ciudad de Santiago para que con las personas que arriba se refieren, se disponga la venta de los esclavos de la Mina de Cobre que hay en aquel distrito. (Minuta)
- 55-1-39. Secretaría de Nueva España. Audiencia de Santo Domingo Isla de Cuba. Minutas de Consultas y Despachos pertenecientes a aquella Isla. Años 1689 a 1692. Estante, 55, Cajón, 1, Legajo, 39.
(No hay esclavos negros)
- 55-1-40. Secretaría de Nueva España. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Isla de Cuba. Minuta de Consultas y Despachos pertenecientes a aquella Isla. Años de 1693 a 1699. Estante, 55, Cajón, 1, Legajo, 40.
1. 1693, Octubre,—? Madrid. Su Majestad a Don Severino de Manzaneda, Gobernador de la Habana. 2 pliegos. Respondiéndole a una carta en que avisó lo obrado para extinguir los negros cimarrones. (Minuta)
2. 1693, Noviembre,—? Madrid. Diciéndole lo que ha de ejecutar sobre el buen tratamiento de los esclavos negros de aquella Isla. (Minuta)
3. 1694, Enero,—? Madrid. Su Majestad a Don Severino de Manzaneda, Gobernador de la Habana. 2 pliegos. Avisándole haberse aprobado lo determinado por Don Manuel de Murguía en cuanto a haber dado por decomiso unos negros y mulatos. (Minuta)
4. 1694, Diciembre, —?. Madrid. Su Majestad a Don Severino de Manzaneda, Gobernador de la Habana. 1 pliego. Aprobando lo obrado en razón de lo ejecutado con el convoy de Jamaica que fué escoltando una fragata de negros. (Minuta)
5. 1696, Marzo, 27. Madrid. Su Majestad a Don Sebastián de Arenzivia, Gobernador de Cuba. 1 pliego. Ordenándole remita lo actuado por Don Francisco Manuel de Roa sobre comercio con extranjeros e in-

troucción de esclavos negros en aquella Isla. (Minuta)

6. 1699, . . . ? — ?. Madrid. Su Majestad a Don Diego de Córdoba Laso de la Vega, Gobernador de la Habana. 1 pliego. Avisándole el recibo de las cartas que escribió con motivo de salir de aquel puerto un navio del Asiento de Negros. (Minuta)
- 55-1-41. Secretaría de Nueva España. Santo Domingo. Isla de Cuba. Minutas de Consultas y Despachos pertenecientes a aquella Isla. Años 1700 a 1703. Estante, 55, Cajón, 1, Legajo, 41.
1. 1700, Marzo, — ?. Madrid. El Consejo de Indias a Su Majestad. 3 pliegos. Propone a Su Majestad las providencias que ha considerado convenientes para volver a incorporar a la Corona, las Minas de Cobre de la ciudad de Santiago de Cuba y las conveniencias que se seguirán de su labor y beneficio. (Trata de los esclavos que se empleaban en servicio de la misma). (Minuta)
2. 1701, . . . ? — ?. Madrid. El Consejo de Indias a Su Majestad. 1 y 1/2 pliegos. Pone en la real inteligencia de Su Majestad la determinación que ha tomado en vista de los autos remitidos por el Gobernador de la Habana cerca de haber dado por decomiso la carga de un bergantín inglés que se perdió en la inmediación de aquella Isla (que consistía en plata acuñada, mercaderías y esclavos). por si Su Majestad fuere servido mandar se pase noticia al Ministro del Rey británico en esta Corte. (Minuta)
3. 1701, . . . ? — ?. Madrid. Su Majestad a Don Diego de Córdoba Laso de la Vega, Gobernador de la Habana. 1 pliego. Extrañándole haber dado por decomiso la carga del bergantín inglés (consistente en plata acuñada, mercaderías y esclavos) y ordenándole que todo lo comisado se ponga luego a ley de depósito (Minuta)
4. 1701, Junio, 2. Madrid. Su Majestad a Don Juan Barón de Chaves, Gobernador de Cuba. 1 Avisándole el recibo de una carta en que refiere las diligencias que ha ejecutado a fin de restituir a las minas los

esclavos que se hallaban fuera de ellas y encargándole continúe en auxiliar a Don Manuel García de Palacios. (Minuta)

5. 1702, Septiembre, 9. Madrid. Su Majestad a Don Juan Barón de Chaves, Gobernador de Cuba. 1 pliego. Diciéndole se aprueba la venta de los negros que hizo para pagar los empréstitos que contrajo para la fábrica del Castillo la Roca de aquella ciudad. (Minuta)

55-1-42. Secretaría de Nueva España. Audiencia da Santo Domingo. Isla de Cuba. Minuta de Consultas y Despachos pertenecientes a aquella Isla. Años 1704 a 1709. Estante, 55, Cajón, 1, Legajo, 42.

1. 1704, Abril 17. Madrid. El Consejo de Indias a Su Majestad. 3 pliegos. Pone en las reales manos de Su Majestad el papel que ha formado Don Manuel García de Bustamante sobre la importancia de restablecer las Minas de cobre de Cuba y ajuste que ha hecho con Don Sebastián de Arenzibia para el intento, en que se conformado el Consejo (Trata de esclavos negros). (Minuta)
2. 1704, Junio, 16. Madrid. Su Majestad al Gobernador de la Habana. 1 y 1/2 pliegos. Diciéndole se ha estrañado que Don Luis Chacón permitiese salir de aquel Puerto un navio del Asiento de negros antes que el azogues y lo pue se ha de ejecutar en adelante. (Minuta)
3. 1704, Septiembre, 2. Madrid. El Consejo de Indias a Su Majestad. 3 pliegos. Satisface al Decreto con que Su Majestad se sirvió remitir un memorial de Don Francisco Perdomo sobre encargarse de poner corriente las Minas de cobre de Cuba, en cuyo punto está consultado a Su Majestad a favor de Don Sabastián de Aranzibia. (Trata de esclavos negros). (Minuta)
4. 1704, Noviembre, 12. Madrid. El Consejo de Indias a Su Majestad. 6 pliegos. En satisfacción del Decreto de Su Majestad con que se sirvió remitir un papel de los reparos que se ofrecieron en vista de las Consultas hechas por Don Sebastian de Aranzibia y Don Francisco Perdomo, sobre el beneficio de cobre

de las minas de Cuba; pone en la real inteligencia de Su Majestad lo que se le ofrece y tiene por más conveniente. (Trata de esclavos negros.) (Minuta)

5. 1705, Marzo, 2. Madrid, Su Majestad al Gobernador y Oficiales Reales de la Habana. 4 pliegos. Dándoles noticia del contrato hecho con Don Sebastián de Aranzibia del beneficio de las minas de cobra de Santiago de Cuba, y ordenándoles cuiden del puntual cumplimiento. (Trata de esclavos negros). (Minuta)
6. 1705, Octubre, 2. Madrid, Su Majestad a Don Juan Barón de Chaves, Gobernador de Cuba. 1 pliegó. Diciéndole se espera dé cuenta con autos de lo que habiere ejecutado en el negociado del indulto de esclavos de mala entrada en la jurisdicción de aquel gobierno. (Minuta)

55-1-43. Secretaría de Nueva España. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Isla de Cuba. Minutas de Consultas y Despachos pertenecientes a aquella Isla. Años 1710 a 1713. Estante, 55, Cajón, 1, Legajo, 43.

1. 1712, Diciembre, 6. Madrid. El Consejo de Indias a Su Majestad. 2 pliegos incluyendo 13. Vuelve a las reales manos de Su Majestad la consulta que hizo en 28 de Septiembre, sobre el indulto que pretende Don Miguel de Arsón de una fragata que arribó a la Habana del Esiento de Negros de que se le comiso la carga; y es de parecer que con las circunstancias que se expresan se le puede conseder atento al servicio que hace de 1,500 pesos escudos en esta Corte. (Minuta)
2. 1712, Diciembre, 31. Madrid. Su Majestad a ? 1 pliego. Manda se restituya la carga comisada en la Habana a una fragata del Asiento de Negros nombrada San Luis que arribo a aquel Puerto el año de 1711, su Capitán Don Miguel de Arsón y Esport. (Minuta)
3. 1713, Junio, 20. Madrid. Su Majestad al Gobernador y Oficiales Reales de la Habana. 2 pliegos. Para que informen lo que constare sobre la pretensión que

se expresa de Don Juan Bautista Jonche, Factor del Asiento de Negros.

- 55-3-9. Secretaría de Nueva España. Secular. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Isla de Cuba. Cartas y expedientes del Gobernador de la ciudad de San Cristóbal, de la Habana. Años de 1663 a 1701. Estante, 55, Cajón, 3, Legajo, 9.

(No hay esclavos negros)

- 55-3-10. Secretaría de Nueva España. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Isla de Cuba. Cartas y expedientes del Gobernador de la ciudad de San Cristóbal de la Habana. Años de 1702 a 1703. Estante, 55, Cajón, 3, Legajo, 10.

1.
(No. 1°) 1702, Julio, 20. Habana. El Gobernador Don Diego de Córdoba a Su Majestad. 1 pliego incluyendo 167. Remite los autos sobre la arribada a aquel Puerto de un navio inglés con 44 negros; demanda que le puso el Asentista de ellos, refiriendo que aunque la sentencia que dió fué a favor del Capitán inglés no quiso admitir navio ni negros, por decir se le habían de hacer bueno los menoscabos, por cuya razón pasó a venderlo, todo lo cual queda depositado. (Original)

- 55-3-12. Secretaría de Nueva España. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Isla de Cuba. Cartas y expedientes del Gobernador de la ciudad de San Cristóbal de la Habana. Años de 1716 a 1721. Estante, 55, Cajón, 3, Legajo, 12.

1.
(No. 3°) 1720, Enero, 25. Habana. Don Gregorio Guazo Calderón a Su Majestad. 2 pliegos incluyendo 22 y 1/2. Dice que con motivo de la frecuente introducción de negros por los ingleses de Jamaica en los pueblos de la tierra adentro de aquella Isla y para averiguacion de ella y del trato y comercio ilícito, dió comisión a Don Lope Antonio de Sollozo para que pasase a hacer visita general a la ciudad de la Trinidad y Villa de Santispiritus y otras, y concediese indultos para el mayor beneficio de la Real Hacienda de que resultó el beneficio en ella de 7.321 pesos y 4 reales descontados salarios y costas en aquellos parajes con más 13.138 reales que por la misma razón se en-

teraron en Cajas Reales de los negros esclavos que se manifestaron en la misma ciudad de la Habana de que acompaña dos certificaciones; la una de Oficiales Reales y la otra del Escribano mayor de Gobernación y por testimonio el despacho de comisión que dió a este Visitador con la instrucción de lo que había de observar y la representación que en la materia le ha hecho sobre lo que pide providencia. (Original)

2.
(No. 13) 1720, Noviembre, 11. San Lorenzo. Su Majestad a Don Andrés de Elcorobarrutia. 1 pliego incluyendo 5. Remite al consejo una carta del Gobernador de la Habana de 4 de Septiembre de 1719 con testimonio de autos, en razón de haber conseguido recaudar del Depositario General de aquella Plaza, 1500 pesos que se debían al Asiento de Negros de Cuba, para enterarlos con los demás efectos de represalia; sobre cuyo contenido manda Su Majestad se informe lo que pareciere. (Original)

3. 1721, Junio, 28. Habana. El Gobernador de la Habana Don Gregorio Guazo Calderón a Don Andrés de Pes. 3 pliegos incluyendo 51. Hace presente que Don Ricardo Faril, de nacion ingles, que fué Factor del Asiento de negros en aquella Ciudad de la Habana, le comunicó debajo de todo sigilo, que habiendo justificado ser originario de Irlanda, hijo y descendiente de católicos y cariádole como tal sus padres, bautizándole e instruídole en nuestra religión por librarse del castigo que hubiera experimentado si se hubiera entendido así en aquella República; el Obispo de Cuba le casó secretamente con Doña María de Arriola, viuda de Don Miguel de Ambulodi, muger principal y hacendada en dicha ciudad de la Habana y que en esta consecuencia y para conseguir restaurar los bienes que tenía en Jamaica sin dar a entender este suceso, le pidió licencia para poder enjecutar viaje a Jamaica con toda precaución en lo que convino este Gobernador por parecerle digno caso de conmiseración a resolución tan cristiana y que habiendo puesto en ejecucón su viaje y vuéltose a restituir a aquella ciudad en el termino de 40 días con corta diferencia

y conducido 236 negros y negras de todas edades con 260 barriles de harnia con diferentes bienes de adorno de casa y lo necesario a la fábrica de un ingenio de azucar que desembarcó en aquella Isla, 16 leguas de la Ciudad, de que hizo manifestación ante este Gobernador y Oficiales Reales, los que se opusieron y el Comisario a lo cual con parecer de Asesor dio deliberación contraria este Gobernador y debajo de caución juratoria le hizo entregar dichos bienes de que acompaña autos y pide se atienda esta determinación con otras prevenciones que expone. (Original)

55-3-13. Secretaría de Nueva España. Secular. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Isla de Cuba. Cartas y Expedientes del Gobernador de la Ciudad de San Cristóbal de la Habana. Años 1722 a 1727. Estante, 55, Cajón, 3, Legajo, 13.

1. 1722, Marzo 18. Habana. El Gobernador Don
(No. 16) Gregorio Gauzo Calderón a Su Majestad. 2 pliegos incluyendo 1. En virtud de lo que se le privino en despacho de 14 de Julio del año de 1720 sobre que no pudo ni debió haber cometido al Capitán Don Lope Antonio Sollozo, la visita de los pueblos de aquella Gobernación con facultad para admitir a indulto negros de mala entrada y que en adelante se abstuviese de dar semejantes comisiones, ejecutando la visita personalmente; satisface expresando los motivos que para ello tuvo y no poder ausentarse de aquella Ciudad por las circunstancias en que se hallaba aquella República entonces, por sus inquietudes, proponiendo los medios que le parece convenientes, se pueden aplicar para atajar el desorden de la introducción de negros en los pueblos de tierra adentro, como también castigar a los introductores y acompaña certificación de haber importado el indulto que se hizo de diferentes negros mal introducidos, veinte y seis mil y tantos pesos que se enteraron en Cajas Reales y sirvieron para diferentes urgencias del Real servicio. (Original)

2. 1722, Marzo, 20. Habana. El Gobernador Don
(No. 17) Gregorio Guazo Calderón a Su Majestad. 1 pliego.
En virtud de lo que se le mandó por despacho de 16
de Agosto del año de 1721, sobre que se entregasen
todos los bienes, bajeles y efectos que se embargaron
a ingleses en virtud de órdenes anteriores que hablan
de la represalia de ellos y que se restituyesen a las
personas que les pertenecían y fuesen partes legítimas;
refiere haber proveído auto con asistencia de
Oficiales Reales, mandando que los del Asiento de Ne-
grose que estaban a cargo del Depositario general, los
entregara a su factores, dando recibo. (Original)
3. 1724, Junio, 22. Habana. El Gobernador Don
(No. 2°) Gregorio Guazo Calderón. 1 pliego. Dice recibió la
carta de 15 de Junio de 1723 con el despacho que la
acompañaba en que se le aprobó lo que ejecutó con
la fragata francesa cargada de negros que por falta
de bastimentos arribó a aquel Puerto y las demás
providencias que dio para su más breve salida para
preservar a aquella ciudad del contagio de la peste.
(Original)
4. 1722, Julio, 9. Palacio. Don Andrés de Pes a Don
Andrés de Elcorobarrutia. 1/2 pliego incluyendo 1.
Remitiéndole de orden de Su Majestad la carta adjunta
del Gobernador de la Habana (que trata de los factores
que fueron del asiento de negros Don Juan Cumber-
lege y Don Pedro Baleiz) para que se tenga presente
en el Consejo de Indias. (Original)
- 55-3-14. Secretaría de Nueva España. Secular. Audiencia
de Santo Domingo. Isla de Cuba. Cartas y
expedientes del Gobernador de la ciudad de San
Cristóbal de la Habana. Años 1728 a 1730.
Estante, 55 Cajón, 3 Legajo, 14.
1. (No. 2°) 1726, Diciembre, 23. Habana. El Gobernador Don
Dionisio Martínez de la Vega. 1/2 pliego incluyendo
50 pliegos. Informa sobre una multa de 1,500 pesos
que le impuso la Audiencia por haber permitido a su
antecesor Don Gregorio Guazo Calderón su torna viaje
a España estándole mandado así por cédula de 20 de
Mayo de 1724 de que remite autos y pide su revocación

y las 500 impuesta al Teniente Auditor General. (Trata sobre indultos de negros de ilícito comercio). (Original)

2.
(No. 2°)

1728, Agosto, 25. Habana. El Gobernador Don Dionisio Martínez de la Vega. 2 pliegos incluyendo otros 2 y 2 medios. En consecuencia de lo mandado por Despacho de 5 de Julio del año pasado, informa lo que se le ofrece en orden a la instancia que hicieron los dueños de Ingenios de azucar sobre los atrasos que en ellos experimentan, a fin de que se arreglen sus derechos al indulto del 5 por ciento del valor que tuviere al tiempo del entrego a sus dueños y que por razón del flete solo se pague cuatro de plata por arroba en bruto. (Trata también sobre los negros esclavos afectos al servicio de dichos ingenios). (Original)

3.
(No. 3°)

1728, Agosto, 27. Habana. El Gobernador Don Dionisio Martínez de la Vega a Su Magestad. 1 pliego incluyendo 2 y 1/2. En cumplimiento de lo que se le ordenó por Despacho de 23 de Octubre de 1726 sobre que informase los motivos que hubo para que el Gobernador de Cuba Don Carlos Sucre convirtiese el producto de los negros de mala entrada que indultó en vestir los esclavos de las minas y compra de cobre: acompaña los papeles de noticias adquiridas y ofrece averiguar y participar los daños que en este ofrece consiguiera por no haber sido en el tiempo de su gobierno el referido indulto y aplicacion. (Original)

4.
(No. 18)

1728, Noviembre, 10. Habana. El Gobernador y Oficiales Reales a Su Majestad. 1 pliego incluyendo 60 y 1/2. Dan cuenta con autos de haber recibido con carta del Presidente de la Audiencia de Guatemala, los formados sobre la aprehensión que hizo la gente de la tripulación de los dos navíos de registro de Honduras en el Puerto de Santo Tomás del Golfo Dulce, de una Goleta de ingleses, con 15 negros y sus efectos, los cuales se aplicaron a Su Majestad y que en virtud de la orden que tenían para la compra de 200 negros para las reales fábricas, tuvieron por con-

veniente destinar los 11 varones de los referidos 15, por los precios de sus tasaciones, y de remitir los autos de esta materia, embargadas las soldadas de la gente de dichos navíos para que en su vista se resuelva lo que pareciere. (Original)

55-3-15.

Secretaría de Nueva España. Secular. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Isla de Cuba. Cartas y expedientes del Gobernador de la ciudad de San Cristóbal de la Habana. Años 1731 a 1734. Estante, 55, Cojón, 3, Legajo, 15

1.
(No. 1°)

1732, Enero, 26. Habana. El Gobernador Don Dionisio Martínez de la Vega a Su Majestad. 2 pliegos incluyendo 4. Da cuenta con testimonio de las diligencias que ha practicado para sacar del cuidado en que había puesto al Cabildo de aquella Ciudad el informe que le hizo su Teniente y Auditor General de que el accidente de viruelas que se padecía en ella, provenía de los negros que introducía el Asiento en aquel Puerto de que habían muerto más de cuatro mil personas y que aunque los Capitulares quedaban satisfechos de no ser ramo de peste, el Teniente General no ha querido persuadirse a ello, pretendiendo se hagan los reparos a este accidente como si fuese peste, sin premeditar las graves consecuencias que se ocasionarían en dicho Puerto, si sonase semejante eco. (Original)

2.
(No. 4°)

1732, Junio, 14. Habana. El Gobernador Don Dionisio de la Vega a Su Majestad. 1 pliego. Avisa el recibo del Despacho de 11 Mayo de 1731 en que se le previno el recibo de los autos formados, sobre la prisión de diferentes vecinos y Capitulares de la ciudad de la Trinidad y ofrece practicar las diligencias convenientes para la remisión que se le ordena de la causa y recaudación de las negros y presa, de que conocieron Don Carlos Polo de la Vega y su compañero. (Original)

55-3-16.

Secretaría de Nueva España. Secular. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Isla de Cuba. Cartas y expedientes del Gobernador de la ciudad de San

Cristóbal de la Habana. Año de 1736. Estante, 55, Cajón, 3, Legajo, 16.

(No hay esclavos negros)

- 55-3-17. Secretaría de Nueva España. Secular. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Isla de Cuba. Cartas y expedientes del Gobernador de la ciudad de San Cristóbal de la Habana. Año de 1736. Estante, 55, Cajón, 3, Legajo, 17.

(No hay esclavos negros)

- 55-3-18. Secretaría de Nueva España. Secular. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Isla de Cuba. Cartas y expedientes del Gobernador de la ciudad de San Cristóbal de la Habana. Año de 1736. Estante, 55, Cajón, 3, Legajo, 18.

(No hay esclavos negros)

- 55-3-19. Secretaría de Nueva España. Secular. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Isla de Cuba. Cartas y expedientes del Gobernador de la ciudad de San Cristóbal de la Habana. Años de 1738 y 1739. Estante, 55, Cajón, 3, Legajo, 19.

1.
(No. 6°) 1739, Mayo, 2. Habana. El Gobernador Don Juan Francisco de Guemes y Horcasitas a Su Majestad. 1/2 pliego incluyendo 88 pliegos. En cumplimiento de lo que se le ordenó por Despacho de 16 de Septiembre de 1736 sobre la averiguación de si los Tenientes de Oficiales Reales de Cuba, se mezclaban en negociaciones con extranjeros, dirige los autos formados en este asunto, por donde resulta su integridad, bondad y suficiencia para la administración de Real Hacienda. (Trata del asiento de Negros). (Original)

2.
(No. 7°) 1739, Junio, 6. Habana. El Gobernador Don Juan Francisco de Guemes y Horcasitas a Su Majestad. 2 pliegos incluyendo otros 2. Da cuenta con testimonio, rel recibo del Despacho de las reglas que se deben observar en punto de presas extranjeras y del Bando publicado para su cumplimiento, haciendo presente no será posible se verifiquen los requisitos dispuestos en él por la malicia con que proceden ingleses para sus ilícitos comercios. (Trata del Asiento de Negros). (Original)

- 55-3-20. Secretaría de Nueva España. Secular. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Isla de Cuba. Cartas y expedientes della Gobernador de la ciudad de San Cristóbal de la Habana. Años de 1740 a 1743. Estante, 55, Cajón, 3, Legajo, 20.
1. 1739, Noviembre 23. Habana. El Gobernador Don
(No. 12) Juan Francisco de Guemes y Horcasitas. 1/2 pliego incluyendo 3. En consecuencia de lo que participo por la via reservada en carta de 10 de Octubre del mismo año, sobre la represalia de los efectos ingleses que pasó a hacer en su Factoría (del Asiento de Negros) dando prontos avisos de esta novedad a los Gobernadores de la Veracruz y Cuba; dice haberse logrado una completa represalia, persuadiendose a que se ha conseguido lo mismo en Campeche y Cartajena y que en Cuba se detuvo un bergantín cargado de frutos y porción de plata registrada y por registrar hallando entre otros papeles del Factor, la earta de que remite copia, de los Directores de la Compañía de Jamaica, con la noticia de ser indubitables las guerras con España. (Original)
2. 1739, Diciembre, 23. Habana. El Gobernador Don
(No. 16) Juan Francisco de Guemes y Horcasitas. 3 pliegos incluyendo 25 y 2 medios pliegos. En consecuencia de lo que ofreció en carta de 13 de Diciembre de 1738, da cuenta con autos de lo ejecutado en cumplimiento de lo mandado por Despacho de 5 de Febrero del mismo año para la solicitud de parsona que quisiese tomar por asiento la labor y beneficio de las minas de cobre de Santiago del Prado y propone que demás de las providencias dadas en este asunto, será conveniente la remisión de cien familias de Canarias para seguridad to todo recelo y ejercer los empleos de república y justicia por sugetos libres y de honra que tengan a los esclavos que han quedado, en mayor subordinación. (Original)
3. 1740, Agosto, 28. Habana. El Gobernador Don Francisco de Guemes y Horcasitas a Su Majestad. 1/2 pliego incluyendo 1. Hace presente lo conveniente que será el uso del indulto de negros esclavos mal

introducidos en aquella gobernación para el reintegro de las maestranzas y la continuación de su servicio y asimismo para el común beneficio de aquellos vasallos. (Original)

- 55-3-21. Secretaría de Nueva España. Secular. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Isla de Cuba. Cartas y expedientes del Gobernador de la ciudad de San Cristóbal de la Habana. Años 1744 a 1748. Estante, 55, Cajón, 3, Legajo, 21.
1. 1744, Marzo 12. Habana. El Gobernador y Capitán General Don Juan Francisco de Guemes y Horcasitas a Su Majestad. 2 pliegos incluyendo 28 y 1/2. Remite los autos que ofreció en carta de 28 de Marzo del año de 1743, en asunto de los negros que de cuenta de la Compañía introdujo en la Isla Don Andrés de Rojas y Sotolongo. (Original)
 - (No. 1°)
 2. 1744, Marzo, 14. El Gobernador y Capitán General Don Juan Francisco de Guemes y Horcasitas a Su Majestad. 2 pliegos. De cuenta de haber remitido por la via reservada un testimonio sobre la entrada en aquel Puerto, vista descarga del Paquebot francés nombrado Santa Genoveva, en el cual encontró algunos negros y otros géneros de corta entidad, de contrabando; por lo cual dice que habiendo dado estos por decomiso volvió al dueño de la embarcación debajo de fianza, el casco y demás géneros que llevaba. (Original)
 3. 1744, Marzo, 14. Habana. El Gobernador y Capitán General Don Juan Francisco de Guemes y Horcasitas a Su Majestad. 1 y 1/2 pliegos. Da cuenta de haber dado por decomiso a la balandra francesa nombrada el Borolé del Capitán Juan Bautista Bouseven, por haber encontrado en ella géneros de contrabando (entre ellos algunos negros) habiéndose arreglado a la Real Cédula de 3 de Diciembre de 1743 expendida por la via reservada, por donde ha remitido los autos. (Original)
 4. 1745, 1/2 pliego incluyendo 3 enteros y 4 medios.
 - (No. 18) Expediente sobre la presa del navio nombrado el Trial, conducido a la Habana por Don Pedro Garay

Coechea, cuyos autos con la carta que los acompaña del Gobernador y Oficiales Reales de aquella Ciudad, se hallan adonde se remitieron. (Trata de negros esclavos.) (Carpeta)

5.
(No. 3°) 1746, Abril, 22. Habana. El Gobernador Don Juan Francisco de Guemes y Horcasitas a Su Majestad. 3 pliegos. Satisface a la Real cédula de 24 Diciembre del año próximo pasado, en la que se le participó lo resuelto sobre lo acaecido con el Auditor de Guerra de aquella Plaza y se le reprendió el desacato que había permitido se cometiese por un soldado en la casa del Auditor con el motivo de querer prender a un negro que se había refugiado en ella. (Original)
6.
(No. 6°) 1746, Julio, 1°. Habana. El Gobernador Don Juan Antonio Tineo a Su Majestad. 3 pliegos y 1/2. En consecuencia de lo que se mandó a su antecesor por despacho de 15 de Septiembre del año próximo pasado, sobre que informase con justificación de los motivos que le obligaron a practicar el indulto de negros de mala entrada en los lugares de tierra adentro de aquella Isla de Cuba; dice no haberse practicado en ella tal indulto ni que se ha encontrado más noticia de este expediente que la que enuncia el citado Real Despacho. (Original)
- 55-3-22. Secretaría de Nueva España. Secular. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Isla de Cuba. Cartas y expedientes del Gobernador de la ciudad de San Cristóbal de la Habana. Año de 1749. Estante, 55, Cajón, 3, Legajo, 22.
(No hay esclavos negros)
- 55-3-23. Secretaría de Nueva España. Secular. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Isla de Cuba. Cartas y expedientes del Gobernador de la ciudad de San Cristóbal de la Habana. Año de 1749. Estante, 55, Cajón, 3, Legajo, 23.
1.
(No. 2°) 1749, Abril, 30. Habana. El Gobernador y los Oficiales Reales al Marqués de la Ensenada. 3 pliegos incluyendo 77 y 6 medios. Dan cuenta con testimonio de autos sobre la venta de los negros y efectos de una fragata inglesa que encontró varada en el Cayo de

- doce leguas al Sur de la Isla de Cuba Don Manuel Garcerán, que salió de la ciudad de la Trinidad con orta fragata a comisión del real servicio. (Original)
- 55-3-24. Secretaría de Nueva España. Secular. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Isla de Cuba. Cartas y expedientes del Gobernador de la ciudad de San Cristóbal de la Habana. Año de 1750. Estante, 55, Cajón, 3, Legajo, 24.
1. 1750, Enero, 17. Buen Retiro. El Marqués de la
(No. 33) Ensenada a Don José de Carvajal y Lancaster. 1/2 pliego incluyendo 16 enteros y 5 medios. De orden del Rey remite a Su Excelencia la carta adjunta del Gobernador de Cuba con el testimonio de autos que acompaña, sobre tres negros esclavos que llegaron fugitivos a aquella Ciudad, a fin de que viendose en el Consejo consulte éste a Su Majestad lo que se le ofreciere. (Original)
- 55-3-25. Secretaría de Nueva España. Secular. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Isla de Cuba. Cartas y expedientes del Gobernador de la ciudad de San Cristóbal de la Habana. Año de 1751. Estante, 55, Cajón, 3, Legajo, 25.
- (No hay esclavos negros)
- 55-3-26. Secretaría de Nueva España. Secular. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Isla de Cuba. Cartas y expedientes del Gobernador de la ciudad de San Cristóbal de la Habana. Año de 1752. Estante, 55, Cajón, 3 Legajo, 26.
1. 1751, Septiembre, 10. Cuba. El Gobernador Alonso de Arcos y Moreno a Su Majestad. 1 pliego incluyendo 3. Da cuenta con testimonio, de lo practicado en punto a la libertad de los tres negros fugitivos de la Isla de Jamaica y de haber puesto en ejecución la Real Cédula que a este fin se expidió en 24 de Septiembre de 1750. (Original)
- 55-4-2. Secretaría de Nueva España. Secular. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Isla de Cuba. Cartas y expedientes del Gobernador de la ciudad de San Cristóbal de la Habana. Año de 1754. Estante, 55, Cajón, 4, Legajo, 2.

1. 1754, Octubre, 4. Buen Retiro. Don Julián de Arriaga a Don José Ignacio de Goyeneche. 1/2 pliego incluyendo 19 pliegos y 6 medios. De orden del Rey le remite la adjunta carta del Gobernador y Oficiales Reales de la Habana con el testimonio de autos que acompaña sobre la aprehensión que se hizo en la Villa de Santa María del Puerto del Príncipe, de un negro bozal introducido sin las licencias correspondientes, a fin de que viendose en el Consejo de Indias, consulte éste a Su Majestad lo que se le ofreciere y pareciere. (Original)
- 55-4-3. Secretaría de Nueva España. Secular. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Isla de Cuba. Cartas y expedientes del Gobernador de la ciudad de San Cristóbal de la Habana. Año de 1755. Estante, 55, Cajón, 4, Legajo, 3.
1. 1754, Abril, 27. Aranjuez. El Marqués de la Ensenada a Don José Ignacio de Goyeneche. 1/2 pliego incluyendo 77 enteros y 12 medios. De orden del Rey le remite la adjunta carta del Gobernador y Oficiales Reales de la Habana y testimonio de autos que acompaña, sobre la Goleta inglesa nombrada San Jorge, su Capitán John Wallaie, que iba de la Costa de Honduras con negros, caoba y zarza a fin de que viendose en el Consejo consulte éste a Su Majestad lo que se le ofreciere y pareciere. (Original)
2. 1754, Octubre, 4. Buen Retiro. Don Julián de Arriaga a Don José Ignacio de Goyeneche. 1/2 pliego incluyendo 35 enteros y 3 medios. De orden del Rey le remite la adjunta carta del Gobernador y Oficiales Reales de la Habana con el testimonio de autos que acompaña, sobre la denuncia hecha por una negra nombrada María Josefa, criolla, introducida en aquella Isla, a fin de que viendose en el Consejo de Indias consulte a Su Majestad lo que se le ofreciere y pareciere. (Original)
- 55-4-4. Secretaría de Nueva España. Secular. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Isla de Cuba. Cartas y expedientes del Gobernador de la ciudad de

San Cristóbal de la Habana. Año de 1755.
Estante, 55, Cajón, 4, Legajo, 4.

(No hay esclavos negros)

55-4-5. Secretaría de Nueva España. Secular. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Isla de Cuba. Cartas y expedientes del Gobernador de la ciudad de San Cristóbal de la Habana. Año de 1756. Estante, 55, Cajón, 4, Legajo, 5.

(No hay esclavos negros)

55-4-6. Secretaría de Nueva España. Secular. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Isla de Cuba. Cartas y expedientes del Gobernador de la ciudad de San Cristóbal de la Habana. Año de 1757. Estante, 55, Cajón, 4, Legajo, 6.

1. 1756, Mayo, 14. Habana. El Gobernador y Oficiales
(No. 7°) Reales a Don Julian de Arriaga. 1 pliego incluyendo 13 y 2 medios. Adjunta testimonio de los autos obrados sobre el beneficio de un negro bozal que fué hallado en una montería del Hato de arriba, Costa del Sur, por un esclavo de Don Cristóbal de la Torre y Barreda a quien pertenece el dicho Hato. (Original)

2. 1756, Mayo, 15. Habana. El Gobernador y Oficiales
(No. 2°) Reales a Don Julián de Arriaga. 1 pliego incluyendo 18 y 2 medios. Acompañan testimonio de los autos obrados sobre la aprehensión que Don Juan Alvarez de Miranda, Alcalde de la Hermandad que fué en la Villa del Puerto del Príncipe, hizo de un negro que halló en una montaña hacia el Norte de aquella Costa. (Original)

55-4-7. Secretaría de Nueva España. Secular. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Isla de Cuba. Cartas y expedientes del Gobernador de la ciudad de San Cristóbal de la Habana. Año de 1757. Estante, 55, Cajón, 4, Legajo, 7.

1. 1757, Enero, 4. Habana. El Gobernador y Oficiales
(22) Reales a Don Julián de Arriaga. 1 pliego incluyendo 16 y 1/2 y 1/2 suelto. Acompañan testimonio de autos obrados sobre la aprehensión que el alférez del Partido de Rio Blanco, Don Pablo de la Peña hizo de

dos negros bozales y una Jabita con varios géneros de mercaderías. (Original)

55-4-8.

Secretaría de Nueva España. Secular. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Isla de Cuba. Cartas y expedientes del Gobernador de la ciudad de San Cristóbal de la Habana. Años 1758 a 1761. Estante, 55, Cajón, 4, Legajo, 8.

1.
(3) 1758, Enero, 23, Habana. El Gobernador y Oficiales Reales a Don Julián de Arriga. 1 pliego incluyendo 49 y 1/2 Da cuenta con autos de haber aprehendido un Dragón del destacamento del Puerto del Príncipe, Cuatro negros bozales, sin marca, en el Ingenio del Caguazal. (Original)

55-4-10.

Secretaría de Nueva España. Secular. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Isla de Cuba. Cartas y expedientes del Cabildo Secular de la ciudad de San Cristóbal de la Habana. Años de 1700 a 1760. Estante, 55, Cajón, 4, Legajo, 10.

1.
(No. 26) 1722, Diciembre, 8. Habana. La Ciudad a Su Majestad. 1 pliego incluyendo otro y un torozo de papel. Da cuenta de que en aquella ciudad no ha quedado otro fruto que el de los azúcares por la decadencia a que han venido los tabacos y al mismo tiempo reconocido el grave perjuicio que se causa con la porción de arrobas que se introducen de los lugares de tierra adentro de aquella Isla, por haberse aplicado sus moradores de tres años a esta parte a fabricar algunos Ingenios y los crecidos costos que tiene la manutención de tales haciendas pues además de las pensiones de tributos, Capellanías y obras pías que sobre ellas están impuestas, so llega que los negros que son precisos e inescusables para la labor de las cañas, se compran por el precio de 300 pesos en dinero efectivo sin que los factores del Asiento quieran recibir frutos. Que el cobre es necesario enviar a buscarlo al Reino de Nueva España por crecido precio, además del riesgo de la conducción. Que los crudos para los vestuarios de los negros tiene de costa seis reales cada vara y asimismo todos los demás aperos concernientes a diferencia de los lugares referidos que por muy dis-

tintos precios compren todos los que necesitan, sin tener tributadas sus haciendas y que siendo esto en perjuicio de dicha Ciudad de la Habana y que cada día crece más el daño por la imposibilidad de sacar la azúcar para estos Reinos porque los costos de fletes arreglados al real proyecto y los derechos de Su Majestad imposibilitan a los comerciantes y aun a los cosecheros a que la puedan traficar: Suplica se conceda a dicha Ciudad que los fletamentos de cada cajón de azúcar, no pase de cuatro reales la arroba y que los reales derechos se moderen a dos reales en cada una, pues de esta forma será más facil la consecución de traficarla y conocida utilidad para sus vecinos por no haber mercader ni cosechero que se resuelva a sacarla. (Original)

55-4-14.

Secretaría de Nueva España. Secular. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Isla de Cuba. Cartas y expedientes de los Oficiales Reales de la ciudad de San Cristóbal de la Habana. Años 1701 a 1717. Estante, 55, Cajón, 4, Legajo, 14.

1.
(No. 2°)

1704, Febrero, 11. Habana. Los Oficiales Reales a Su Majestad. 1 pliego incluyendo 26 y 1/2 pliegos. Que habiendose seguido causa con Don Luis Suárez Barroto, factor en aquella Ciudad del Asiento de Negros de la Compañía de Guinea del Reino de Portugal por el valor de 46 zurrone de cacao que hubo de exceso en el peso de 168 que de cuenta del referido Asiento, llevó registrados a aquel Puerto; dieron orden para que pagando los derechos de entrada y afianzando la cantidad de su valor se le entregasen, de que acompañan los autos que se ejecutaron. (Original)

2.

1711, Septiembre, 12. Habana. 104 pliegos. Testimonio de los autos hechos en averiguación de la procedencia de la Balandra francesa el Dragón, su Capitán Lorenzo Chaminar, que venía de la Martinica cargada de trigo y cinco piezas de esclavos. (Copia legalizada)

55-4-15.

Secretaría de Nueva España. Secular. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Isla de Cuba. Cartas y expedientes de los Oficiales Reales de la ciudad de San Cristóbal de la Habana. Años 1719 a

1726. Estante, 55, Cajón, 4, Legajo, 15.

1. 1721, Junio, 29. Habana. Los Oficiales Reales a Su Majestad. 1 pliego incluyendo 50 y 2 medios. Refiere que con motivo de—haberse casado en aquella Ciudad Don Rocardó Farril, factor que fué del Asiento y Compañía de Negros, establecida con la Corona de Inglaterra, pasó a Jamaica secretamente y trasportó a aquella Isla 236 negros y una porción de barriles de harina y cobre labrado lo que introdujo en aquella ciudad haciendo manifiesto de ello al Gobernador extrajudicialmente; y que habiéndolo presentado escrito ante ellos y dicho Gobernador, pidieron se declarase todo por decomiso según lo dispuesto por leyes y órdenes. El Gobernador lo contradijo declarando no haber lugar el comiso y pasó por si solo a proceder en esta causa de que se quejan por el irregular modo con que en esto ha procedido y acompañan testimonio de los autos ejecutados por donde se manifiesta habérsele entregado a dicho Don Ricardo los negros y demás efectos debajo de caución que hizo, sin haber contribuido los reales derechos pertenecientes a Su Majestad de los expresados géneros. (Original)

2. 1724, Junio, 17. Habana. Los Oficiales Reales a Su Majestad. 1 pliego incluyendo 21. Dicen que el Capitán Luis Serrano, uno de los partidarios del Campo de la jurisdicción de aquella ciudad, prendió cinco negros y diferentes géneros en el parage que llaman Zibarimar, costa de Barlovento de aquel Puerto, y que los géneros declararon por decomiso y los negros aplicaron a la Real Compañía por el precio que está estipulado en su Asiento y su producto se distribuyó según reales órdenes como todo constará de los autos que acompañan. (Original)

55-4-16.

Secretaría de Nueva España. Secular. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Isla de Cuba. Cartas y expedientes de los Oficiales Reales de la ciudad de San Cristóbal de la Habana. Año de 1727. Estante, 55, Cajón, 4, Legajo, 16.

(No hay esclavos negros)

- 55-4-17. Secretaría de Nueva España. Secular. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Isla de Cuba. Cartas y expedientes de los Oficiales Reales de la ciudad de San Cristóbal de la Habana. Año de 1728 a 1757. Estante, 55, Cajón, 4, Legajo, 17.
1. 1730, Junio, 10. Habana. Los Oficiales Reales a Su
(No. 3°) Majestad. 1 pliego incluyendo 9. Que habiendo aprehendido el Capitán Don Antonio Medieta en el puerto del Batabano con el Guarda Costas de su cargo, dos negros y diferentes mercaderías, so declararon por decomiso y de su producto se aplicaron a Su Majestad 1,960 reales como consta de los autos origiales que remiten. (Original)
 2. 1730, Junio, 10. Habana. Los Oficiales Reales a Su
(No. 4°) Majestad. 1 pliego incluyendo 30. Dan cuenta con dos piezas de autos originales obrados sobre el comiso de las cinco piezas de esclavos y una cria que aprehendieron en las playas de Zibarimar el Sargento mayor de las milicias de Guanabacoa y su gente, de cuyo producto pertenecieron a Su Majestad 6.300 reales por sus derechos. (Original)
 3. 1731, Enero, 3. Sevilla. Don José Patiño a Don
(No. 10) Jerónimo de Vztariz. 1/2 pliego incluyendo 95 enteros. De orden de Su Majestad le remite la carta adjunta de los Oficiales Reales de la Habana de fecha de 10 de Junio próximo pasado, con los testimonios que la acompañan, para que viéndose en el Consejo informe sobre su contenido lo que se le ofreciere y pareciere. (Trata de negros esclavos) (Original)
- 55-4-18 Secretaría de Nueva España. Secular. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Isla de Cuba. Cartas y expedientes de Visitadores y Jueces de Comisión de aquella Isla. Años 1691 a 1759. Estante, 5, Cajón, 4, Legajo, 18.
1. 1700, Noviembre, 3. Habana. El Oidor Don Diego
(No. 24) Antonio de Oviedo y Baños a Su Majestad. 3 pliegos. Avisa el recibo de la comisión que se le envió para el castigo de los delincuentes en ilícito comercio en las Villas del Bayamo y Príncipe con facultad de conceder indulto a algunos. Y refiere las conferencias

que sobre la materia tuvo con los gobernadores Don Mateo de Palacios y Don José Correoso y que no habiéndose podido dar la infantería necesaria para su ejecución, se hizo impracticable el uso de la comisión aunque pasó a dichos lugares por haber hallado los ánimos tan inquietos que exponía a riesgo su vida. Para cuya justificación expresa que habiendo pasado también a una de dichas Villas el Gobernador Don José Correoso a castigar los culpados en comercio con una fragata francesa se retiró de los riesgos en que se vió amenazado sin haber conseguido cosa alguna y discurre sobre la forma para remediar estos excesos y la utilidad que se seguirá a Su Majestad de indultarse más de mil negros que hay de mala entrada en la gobernación de Cuba. Da cuenta asimismo de que el Gobernador Don Mateo de Palacios admitió en el Puerto diferentes embarcaciones francesas del Pitiguao y a Daniel de la Plaza, de esta mación, por factor del Asiento de Negros con la máxima de que con libertad sacase los frutos preciosos de la Isla. (Original)

80-1-1.

Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Cuba. Copia de Reales cédulas y cartas acordadas expedidas a Don Antonio Bucareli. Años 1766 a 1771. Estante, 80, Cajón, 1, Legajo, 1.

1.
(No. 123)

1769, Septiembre 27. San Ildefonso. Su Majestad al Gobernador de la Habana, Don Antonio María Bucareli y Vrsua. 2 pliegos. Previniéndole que deben considerarse y seguir la misma regla que se dió para los esclavos enteros, la de los coartados; que estos últimos no puedan mudar de amo sino en los casos que se expresan y que llegado a verificarse el traspaso y venta de ellos, pague de su precio el comprador la alcabala. (Copia)

2.
(No. 153)

1770, Septiembre, 5. San Ildefonso. Su Majestad al Gobernador de la Habana, Don Antonio María Bucareli y Vrsua. 1 pliego. Devolviendo los autos que se remitieron al Consejo sobre la denuncia de un paquebot inglés que conducía negros del Real Asiento, titulado la Catharina, para que formalizados por este

Tribunal se pronuncie la sentencia correspondiente.
(Copia)

- 80-1-2. Indiferente General, Cuba. Gobiernos de Don Nicolás de Arredondo, Don José Tentor, Don Vicente Manuel de Céspedes y Don Juan Antonio Ayanz y Vreta. Años 1770 a 1790. Estante, 80, Cajón, 1, Legajo, 2.
(No hay esclavos negros)
- 80-1-3. Audiencia de Santo Domingo; Cuba. Gobierno de Don Diego José Navarro. Años 1776 a 1784. Estante, 80, Cajón, 1, Legajo, 3.
(No hay esclavos negros)
- 80-1-4. Audiencia de Santo Domingo; Cuba. Gobiernos de Don Luis de Unzaga, del Conde de Galvez, de Don Bernardo Troncoso y Don José Espeleta. Años 1782 a 1790. Estante, 80, Cajón, 1, Legajo, 4.
(No hay esclavos negros)
- 80-1-5. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Cuba. Cartas, expedientes y duplicados de Gobernadores. Años 1720 a 1749. Estante, 80, Cajón, 1, Legajo, 5.
(No hay esclavos negros)
- 80-2-1. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Cuba. Cartas, expedientes y duplicados de Gobernadores. Años 1796 a 1787. Estante, 80, Cajón, 2, Legajo, 1.
1. 1796, Marzo, 11. Habana. Don Luis de las Casas, Capitán General de Cuba a Don Diego Gardoqui. 1 pliego incluyendo 3. Remite una representación del Ayuntamiento de San Juan de los Remedios, en solicitud de habilitación de su puerto para comercio libre. (Trata de negros esclavos.)
 2. 1796, Julio, 22. Habana. Don Luis de las Casas, Gobernador de la Habana a Don Eugenio Llaguno. 1 pliego. Contesta a la Real Orden de 17 de Octubre sobre envío a España del negro Manuel Belén. (Original)

3.
(No. 174) 1796, Septiembre, 19. Habana. Don Luis de las Casas, Capitan General de Cuba a Don Diego de Gardoqui. 1 pliego incluyendo otro. Dirige con su apoyo, una representación de la Junta de Gobierno de aquel Consulado, en solicitud de real aprobación, para establecer interinamente el Reglamento y Arancel de capuras sobre negros cimarrones, por los motivos que expresa. (Original)
4.
(No. 15) 1797, Abril, 10. Habana. El Capitán General de Cuba, Conde de Santa Clara a Don Pedro Varela. 1 pliego. Contesta a la Real orden de 19 de Octubre último, remitiendo el expediente a que se contrae, sobre captura de negros cimarrones. (Original)
5.
(No. 18) 1797, Junio, 23. Habana. El Conde de Santa Clara, Capitán General de Cuba a Don Pedro Varela. 1 pliego incluyendo 2. Remite dos representacioness del Consulado, sobre abolición de la Ley de Mostrencos en orden a esclavos cimarrones y la limitación del número de Cuadrilleros de la Santa Hermandad. (Original)
6.
(No. 17). 1797, Junio, 30. Cuba. Juan Nepomuceno de Quintana, Gobernador de Cuba a Don Eugenio de Llaguno. 3 pliegos incluyendo otros 3. Satisface a la Real Orden de 16 de Octubre último, relativa a los naturales del pueblo del Cobre: acredita con documentos la benevolencia con que son tratados y el trastorno en que nuevamente se hallan por haberse creído que cierta providencia expedida por el Supremo Consejo se contrae a prevenir su reposición al Pueblo, libres de la esclavitud. (Original)
- 80-2-2. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Cuba. Cartas, Expedientes y Duplicados de Gobernadores. Años 1797 y 1798. Estante, 80, Cajón, 2, Legajo, 2.
1.
(No. 29) 1798, Enero, 29. Habana. El Conde de Santa Clara Capitán General de Cuba al Marqués de las Hormazas. 1 pliego. Dice haber dado curso a la Real Orden sobre abono del valor de los negros tomados a Don Francisco Figuera de Vargas. (Original)

2.
(No. 37) 1798, Julio, 5. Habana. El Conde de Santa Clara, Capitán General de Cuba a Don Francisco Saavedra. 2 pliegos incluyendo 1. Informa de los efectos del nuevo Reglamento de cimarrones, y acompaña la Adición a él, cuya formación se ha creído necesaria. (Original)
- 80-2-3. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Cuba. Cartas, Expedientes y Duplicados de Gobernadores. Año 1799. Estante, 80, Cajón, 2, Legajo, 3.
(No hay negros esclavos)
- 80-2-4. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Cuba. Cartas, Expedientes y Duplicados de Gobernadores. Año 1800. Estante, 80, Cajón, 2, Legajo, 4.
1.
(No. 21) 1800, Mayo, 28. Habana. El Marqués de Someruelo, Capitán General de Cuba a Don Miguel Cayetano Soler. 1 pliego. Da cuenta para la real resolución, de lo ocurrido entre el Teniente Gobernador de Trinidad y aquel Subdelegado de Marina, sobre introducción allí por un corsario de unos negros ladinos ingleses. (Original)
- 80-2-5. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Cuba. Cartas, Expedientes y Duplicados de Gobernadores. Año 1801. Estante, 80, Cajón, 2, Legajo, 5.
1.
(No. 592) 1801, Octubre, 22. Habana. El Marqués de Someruelo, Capitán General de Cuba a Don José Antonio Cabellero. 1 pliego incluyendo otro. Acompaña una instancia de la viuda del Caudillo negro, Jorge Viason, en solicitud de una persión. (Original)
- 80-2-6. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Cuba. Cartas, Expedientes y Duplicados de Gobernadores. Año 1801. Estante, 80, Cajón, 2, Legajo, 6.
(No hay negros esclavos)
- 80-2-7. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Cuba. Cartas, Expedientes y Duplicados de Gobernadores. Año 1801. Estante, 80, Cajón, 2, Legajo, 7.
1.
(No. 399) 1800, Noviembre, 22. Habana. El Marqués de Someruelo, Capitán General de Cuba a Don Antonio Cornel. 2 pliegos incluyendo un trozo de papel. Remite testimonio de los autos obrados contra siete negros del Conse de Casa Barreto, sobre un alboroto

que tuvieron y resistencia hecha a la tropa que acudió a contenerlos. (Original)

- 80-2-8. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Cuba. Cartas, Expedientes y duplicados de Gobernadores. Año 1802. Estante, 80, Cajón, 2, Legajo, 8.
1. 1802, Octubre, 29. Habana. El Marqués de Some-
(No. 54) ruelos, Capitán General de Cuba a Don Miguel Cayetano Soler. 1 pliego incluyendo 4. Acompaña copia de lo que le representó el Consulado, sobre que continúe la entrada de negros en aquella Isla y de lo que en su vista acordó con el Intendente. (Original)
2. 1802, Octubre, 30. Habana. El Marqués de Some-
(No. 56) ruelos, Capitán General de Cuba a Don Miguel Cayetano Soler. 1 pliego. Dice que aquel Consulado dirige ahora una representación pidiendo varias gracias y que solo tiene tiempo de informar sobre la de que se prorrogue la entrada de negros por extranjeros. (Original)
3. 1802, Noviembre, 17. Habana. El Marqués de Some-
(No. 57) ruelos, Capitán General de Cuba a Don Miguel Cayetano Soler. 1 pliego incluyendo 9. Acompaña el expediente promovido por el Ayuntamiento de la Habana sobre que continúe la entrada de negros en aquella Isla. (Original)
- 80-2-9. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Cuba. Cartas y Expedientes y Duplicados de Gobernadores. Año 1802. Estante, 80, Cajón, 2, Legajo, 9.
(No hay negros esclavos)
- 80-2-10. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Cuba. Cartas, Expedientes y Duplicados de Gobernadores. Estante, 80, Cajón, 2, Legajo, 10.
1. 1802, Enero, 14. Habana. El Marqués de Somerue-
(No. 53) los, Gobernador de la Habana a Don José Antonio Caballero. 1 pliego. Instruye del incidente de que le dió cuenta el Gobernador de la Plaza de Cuba, sobre la aprehensión de un salvo conducto del Almirante de Jamacia, dado a solicitud del Reverendo Obispo de aquella diócesis, con el objeto que se expresa. (Trata de esclavos negros) (Original)

- 80-3-31. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Cuba. Reales Cédulas, Títulos e informes de las Audiencias de Cuba y Puerto Príncipe. Años 1773 a 1850. Estante, 80, Cajón, 3, Legajo, 31.
(No hay negros esclavos)
- 80-3-32. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Cuba. Cartas, expedientes y duplicados de las Audiencias de Cuba y Puerto Príncipe. Años 1769 a 1803. Estante, 80, Cajón, 3, Legajo, 32.
1. 1796, Noviembre, 10. Santo Domingo. El Regente de la Real Audiencia Don José Antonio de Vrizar a Don Eugenio Llaguno y Amirola. 2 pliegos. Dándole cuenta de la sublevación acaecida en el Ingenio nombrado Boca-Nigua distante tres leguas de esta Capital y perteneciente al Señor Marqués de Iranda; de las activas prontas providencias que se han expedido para la prisión y castigo de los reos y el cuidado con que se está para que este atentado no sea transcendental y se verifique la pronta conclusión de esta causa con el ejemplar escarmiento correspondiente a los excesos. (Trata de esclavos negros) (Original)
 2. 1796, Noviembre, 21. Santo Domingo. El Regente de la Real Audiencia Don José Antonio de Vrizar a Don Eugenio de Llaguno y Amirola. 1 pliego. Participale haberse destruido la sublevación acaecida en el Ingenio nombrado Boca-Nigua, de que dió cuenta en el último correo, y el actual estado que tiene la causa. (Trata de esclavos negros) (Original)
 3. 1796, Diciembre, 3. Santo Domingo. El Regente de la Real Audiencia de Santo Domingo a Don Eugenio de Llaguno y Amirola. 2 pliegos. Hace presente a Su Excelencia haberse sentenciado los negros sublevados de la Hacienda Boca-Nigua y ejecutado se las penas impuestas con general sosiego y beneplácito del publico, cuyo reposo y tranquilidad queda asegurada con el ejemplar escarmiento de estos malhechores. (Original)
- 80-3-33. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Cuba. Cartas, expedientes y duplicados de las Audiencias de Cuba y Puerto Príncipe. Años 1804 a 1812.

Estante, 80, Cajón, 3, Legajo, 33.

(No hay negros esclavos)

80-3-34.

Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Cuba. Cartas, expedientes y duplicados de las Audiencias de Cuba y Puerto Príncipe. Años 1813 a 1815. Estante, 80, Cajón, 3, Legajo, 34.

(No hay negros esclavos)

80-3-35.

Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Cuba. Cartas, expedientes y duplicados de las Audiencias de Cuba y Puerto Príncipe. Años 1815 a 1820. Estante, 80, Cajón, 3, Legajo, 35.

(No hay negros esclavos)

80-3-36.

Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Cuba. Cartas, expedientes y duplicados de las Audiencias de Cuba y Puerto Príncipe. Años 1821 a 1825. Estante, 80, Cajón, 3, Legajo, 36.

(No hay negros esclavos)

80-3-37.

Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Cuba. Cartas, expedientes y Duplicados de las Audiencias de Cuba y Puerto Príncipe. Años 1826 a 1850. Estante, 80, Cajón, 3, Legajo, 37.

(No hay negros esclavos)

80-4-13.

Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Cuba. Reales Cédulas, informes, Ordenanzas, sobre Cabildos seculares by erecciones de Villas. Años 1735 a 1819. Estante, 80, Cajón, 4, Legajo, 13.

(No hay negros esclavos)

80-2-11.

expedientes y duplicados de Gobernadores. Año Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Cuba. Cartas, 1803. Estante, 80, Cajón, 2, Legajo, 11.

1.

(No. 61)

1803, Enero, 31. Habana. El Marqués de Someruelos, Capitán General de Cuba a Don Miguel Cayetano Soler. 1 pliego. Acusa el recibo de la Real orden en que se le previene el regreso de tres negros esclavos que llegaron a Cádiz. (Original)

2.

(No. 73)

1803, Mayo, 22. Habana. El Marqués de Someruelos, Capitán General de Cuba a Don Miguel Cayetano Soler. 1 pliego incluyendo 4. Instruye de lo que ha acordado con el Intendente sobre que el importe de

- negros que se introduzcan en aquella Isla, se extraiga en frutos con lo demás que expresa. (Original)
3.
(No. 77) 1803, Mayo, 26. Habana. El Marqués de Someruelos, Capitán General de Cuba a Don Miguel Cayetano Soler. 1 pliego. Informa que considera no conviene la introducción de negros en aquella Isla por otros puertos que los de la Habana y Cuba. (Original)
4.
(No. 88) 1803, Septiembre, 6. Habana. El Marqués de Someruelos, Capitán General de Cuba a Don Miguel Cayetano Soler. 1 pliego. Dice haber recibido la Real orden sobre el embarque del negro Agustín de Mena. (Original)
- 80-2-12. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Cuba. Cartas, expedientes y duplicados de Gobernadores. Año 1803. Estante, 80, Cajón, 2, Legajo, 12.
(No hay negros esclavos)
- 80-2-13. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Cuba. Cartas, expedientes y duplicados de Gobernadores. Año 1804. Estante, 80, Cajón, 2, Legajo, 13.
1.
(No. 121) 1804, Mayo, 16. Habana. El Marqués de Someruelos, Capitán General de Cuba a Don Miguel Cayetano Soler. 1 pliego. Da curso a un expediente de la Junta Consular, sobre el proyecto de una Compañía Africana para la introducción de negros. (Original)
2.
(No. 129) 1804, Junio, 16. Habana. El Marqués de Someruelos, Capitán General de Cuba a Don Miguel Cayetano Soler. 1 pliego. Contesta a la Real Orden de 21 de Enero, sobre lo representado por el segundo Fiscal de la Real Hacienda de la Habana, acerca de un esclavo suyo. (Original)
- 80-2-14. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Cuba. Cartas, expedientes y duplicados de Gobernadores. Año 1804. Estante, 80, Cajón, 2, Legajo, 14.
(No hay negros esclavos)
- 80-2-15. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Cuba. Cartas, expedientes y duplicados de Gobernadores. Año 1804. Estante, 80, Cajón, 2, Legajo, 15.
(No hay negros esclavos)
- 80-2-16. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Cuba. Cartas, expedientes y duplicados de Gobernadores. Año

1805. Estante, 80, Cajón, 2, Legajo, 16.

(No hay negros esclavos)

80-2-17.

Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Cuba. Cartas, expedientes y duplicados de Gobernadores. Año

1806. Estante, 80, Cajón, 2, Legajo, 17.

(No hay negros esclavos)

80-2-18.

Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Cuba. Cartas, expedientes y duplicados de Gobernadores. Años

1807 a 1809. Estante, 80, Cajón, 2, Legajo, 18.

1.
(No. 7) 1800, Agosto, 15. Cuba. Sebastián Kindelan, Gobernador de Cuba a Don José Antonio Caballero. 3 pliegos incluyendo 2. Eleva original un recurso que le ha hecho Don Tomás Garzón, solicitando una orden real que suspenda los recursos que le amenazan como a los demás herederos de Don Juan Eguiluz y Salazar con grave perjuicio de sus intereses a consecuencia de lo que recelan haberse determinado por el Supremo Consejo en la causa de los naturales del Cobre e informa lo que en el asunto se le ofrece para la soberana determinación. (Trata de negros esclavos) (Original)

2.
(No. 22) 1802, Noviembre, 30. Cuba. Sebastián Kidelan, Gobernador de Cuba a Don José Antonio Caballero. 1 pliego incluyendo 5. Da curso a la instancia que eleva a Su Majestad Doña Ana María López de Navia y Quiroga, solicitando indemnización de perjuicios por los que estima haberle irrogado la real declaración de libertad concedida a los esclavos del Pueblo del Cobre. (Original)

3.
(No. 23) 1803, Enero, 13. Cuba. Sebastián Kindelan, Gobernador de Cuba a Don José Antonio Caballero. 1 pliego incluyendo otro. Dirige con su apoyo la instancia que eleva a Su Majestad Doña Juana Mariño, vecina de la ciudad de Baracoa, reclamando el precio de una esclava natural de pueblo del Cobre, que hubo del Teniente General Don Nicolás de Arredondo, siendo Gobernador de esta Plaza. (Original)

BOOK REVIEWS

Calhoun and the South Carolina Nullification Movement. By FREDERIC BANCROFT. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1928. Pp. 199. Price \$2.00.)

This is one of the interesting volumes of history which have been produced by a well recognized scholar whose studies of slavery and the reconstruction have already made an impression upon the public. Here he goes into the details of an important question which has been treated by various authors but still of sufficient ramifications to make possible different points of view and more extensive treatment. Fortunately, too, the work does not follow the well-beaten path. Whereas other treatments of this nullification movement have emphasized too largely the political aspects of the question this author has given much more attention to the economic. He has his own way of thinking. He is not influenced very much by what others of late have been saying about this movement.

The many aspects of the question herein considered indicate the thoroughness of the work. The author directs attention first to the tariff and protection from 1816 to 1825. He then accounts for the opposition of South Carolina by considering its economic position. Approaching the crisis, he mentions such leaders in the nullification movement as Judge William Smith, Robert Y. Hayne, James Hamilton, Jr., Robert Barnwell Smith, and others of the South Carolina Congressional delegation. He next analyzes Calhoun's "Exposition," presents George McDuffie as a revolutionist and visionary, and stages the Webster-Hayne Debate. The work is especially illuminating in considering some alleged precedents for nullification such as the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions, the anti-national movement in Pennsylvania, and the secession efforts in New England about the close of the War of 1812. The nullification efforts from 1830 to 1832 are treated, of course, in extenso, with all the national characters who were participants in the drama. Then appear the stand of Andrew Jackson and the sentiment in favor of the Union. The attitude of other Southern States is considered as determined largely by economic interests. Yet South Carolina is thought of as isolated in taking such an advanced position.

The Negro in Contemporary American Literature. By ELIZABETH LAY GREEN. (Durham: The University of North Carolina Press, 1928. Pp. 96. Price \$1.00.)

This is an effort to treat critically the various volumes presenting the different aspects of the Negro in literature and at the same time to suggest a program for the study of such works. The author is convinced that "the phenomenon of artistic activity by and about the Negro is no fad, is no local color interest which in a few years will belong to the past, but rather is something native to the life of America, something vital and alive, part of our strength and tradition, and should be cherished as such."

Fourteen subjects have been outlined for this study. These include such as the early contributions of the Negro, contemporary poetry with special references to such older authors as William Stanley Braithwaite, James Weldon Johnson, and Claude McKay, and to two younger poets, Countee Cullen and Langston Hughes. These subjects embrace also the Negro's contribution to the art of the theater and the Negro in drama, especially the plays of Eugene O'Neill and the shorter ones of Paul Green. Included also will be found a discussion of the "old timey" Negro and his folklore, recent fiction by white writers, Southern white novelists in this field, and Negro writers themselves like Jean Toomer and Eric Walrond. Attention is directed to the productions of Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois, and finally to Negro newspapers and magazines. Other works such as those of an historical nature are presented merely as evidence of the ability of some Negroes to produce, but no special effort is made to treat literature of this sort.

On the whole the book is commendable. Certain errors of fact and judgment, however, are apparent. The two most glaring are the failure to distinguish between important and unimportant works and the inclusion of some works which have never been published although advertised as prospective publications which were in preparation. For example, on page 13, *Fire*, a magazine which hardly reached more than one or two issues and never attained high standing is mentioned along in the same prominent position with the *Crisis* and *Opportunity*. On page 90 Daniel Murray's "Encyclopaedia" is given prominence along with works of René Maran, Kelly Miller, and R. R. Moton, when as a matter of fact, such a work has never been published. It is very much re-

gretted, then, that this commendable piece of work was not more thoroughly and accurately carried out.

The American Negro. By the Editor in Charge, DONALD YOUNG, Ph.D. (Philadelphia: The American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1928.)

This is the November issue of *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. As its name signifies it is devoted to the treatment of the Negro of today by various persons, some of whom have long since impressed themselves upon the public as qualified to write on this question. The work is decidedly sociological except so far as here and there it undertakes to summarize the achievements of the Negroes in various lines up to the present time. In many respects it is like *The Negro's Progress in Fifty Years* published fifteen years ago by the same society. The interest of this body in the study of the Negro has been further expressed by the publication of the article entitled *The Study of the Negro Problem*; by Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois and *The Standard of Living Among One Hundred Negro Migrant Families in Philadelphia* by Dr. Sadie T. Mossell.

This particular volume is a more pretentious affair than the one brought out in 1913. A larger number of persons have contributed to this recent work, and many more aspects of the question are presented. Briefly stated, the volume covers race relations, the Negro population, the legal status of the Negro, economic achievement, mental ability, social betterment, and various other topics. The work includes an appreciation of what the Negro is doing for himself and what is being done for him in matters of health, education, art, publication, religion, and social welfare. No attempt was made to present the achievement of the Negro from an historical point of view, nor was any credit given to the scientific effort of the association for the study of Negro Life and History during the last fourteen years to embody the civilization of the Negro, although the body of editors were advised by Charles S. Johnson, James Weldon Johnson, Mary Van Kleeck, F. O. Nichols, and Graham Taylor. Several of the contributors, however, had to produce their articles largely from facts which this learned society has discovered. It is to be regretted that the staff so carefully worked out this omission by treating everything else except this special effort for the uplift of the Negro in America and the

improvement of interracial relations. It is regretted also that the staff yielded to pressure and included a number of articles presented as the appraisal of efforts of persons who are more notorious than meritorious. This short-coming reduces the work in certain places to the basis of a hodge-podge.

The work as a whole, however, has some value. Although we find in it a number of articles which do not rise above the average of the newspaper or magazine effort, others are strictly scientific in keeping with the higher standards of our leading publications. If proper judgment had been shown in the selection of materials the volume would deserve higher rank. The undeveloped mind in the perusal of these pages will unfortunately be misled by the unscientific productions just as easily as it will be properly informed by those which are of a different stamp. In the hands of persons adequately trained to discriminate, the work will be of considerable use until such time as the facts which this cross-section of the Negro presented will be superseded by other conditions. In the midst of a changing order no one can determine how soon or how late this will be.

Lives of Eminent Africans. By GEORGIANA A. GOLLOCK. New York City: Longmans, Green and Company, 1928. Pp. 152. Price \$1.25.)

Sons of Africa. By GEORGIANA A. GOLLOCK, (New York: Friendship Press, 1928. Pp. 241. Price \$1.50.)

The first book is intended for young Africans in training in such schools as are open to them on that continent. The author believes that, inasmuch as the new generations are facing "changed conditions and paths untrodden before," they need light thrown upon the records of their race. She believes that the young Africans have a real heritage of which they justly may be proud. Those engaged in the uplift of the Africans, therefore, should hold up before them those qualities which have led to success as well as the mistakes which have brought disaster. These sketches, however, are not presented as an encyclopaedia of biography of Africa, but as a collection of selected stories which the author considers especially suited for the plastic mind of the African youth.

The selection of these stories is interesting. We see the account of Tshaka, the Zulu warrior-king, Moshoeshe, the chief of

the mountain, and sketches of Livingstone's African friends. Among these are mentioned the Sechele, chief of the Bakwena, Sebituane, chief of the Makololo, and Sekeletu, Sebituane's son. Then comes a sketch of Khama followed by a still more interesting account of Samuel Adjai Crowther, who rose from a slave boy to the position of bishop of his church. The story then shifts to the record of Mutesa, the King, and to Sir Apolo Kagwa, K.C.M.G., M.B.E. Honorable mention is given to John Tengo Jabavu, the Bantu editor, and to J. E. K. Aggrey, who after being trained in this country served for a number of years as vice-principal of the school at Achimota. The book closes with four shorter stories of Chief Onoyom Iya Nya, J. Claudius May, the schoolmaster, William Koyi, the evangelist, and Augustine Ambali, the Canon of Likoma.

The other book, *Sons of Africa*, by the same author, covers in a way most of the same ground. It is a much larger work than *The Lives of Eminent Africans*. It is more neatly printed and more beautifully bound. In fact, the larger type of this book is much more suitable for children than the smaller type in which the other work is printed. The decorations showing the influence of African art add further to the satisfactory appearance of the volume.

Taking up this African situation seriously, the author begins his story with the discovery of the "Sons of Africa." The sketch is made still more interesting by an account of Askia the Great together with the story of Timbuctoo. The interest is enhanced by the account of Osai Tutu Kwamina. Then comes the Nigerian romance, followed by Tshaka the Zulu portrayed as a black Napoleon. In the work appear, too, Moshesh the nation-builder, Khama the Good, and J. E. K. Aggrey all treated in elementary fashion in the smaller work mentioned above. The book goes further with an account of men of affairs like scholars, lawyers, authors, and teachers. It gives, too, the record of pastors, evangelists and martyrs. The book is interestingly written and should appeal very strongly to the missionary and religious circles, for the reason that it is the product of a person of an ecclesiastical mind.

This work has been suggested as a textbook for public schools, but its use should be restricted to training for religious work to stimulate those undertaking such preparation by holding up before them the achievements of persons who have suffered and died

for the cause. From the point of view of teaching the history of Africa the book is inadequate. What it records is of value, but it omits many more essentials than it takes into account. The author does not approach the subject as an anthropologist or historian. To stamp these books with such titles as *The Lives of Eminent Africans* and *Sons of Africa* may be misleading for the author has given only those sketches of persons who will appeal to those devoting their lives to religious propaganda. The public must still await a dictionary of African biography or a collection of African sketches from the point of view of a disinterested writer who will evaluate all things in keeping with scientific standards and present them accordingly.

NOTES

The week beginning Sunday, February 3, will be observed throughout the country as NEGRO HISTORY WEEK. This will be the fourth celebration since the beginning of this observance by the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History in 1926. Various institutions and agencies have made application for the literature and direction offered by the officers of the Association in working out elaborate programs. Unusual interest has been expressed in plays portraying the thought, aspiration, and achievements of the Negro. Several suggestions have been worked out and printed in the form of the *Negro History Week Circular* and will be distributed by the thousands wherever an interest is expressed in the work. Applications for such literature should be addressed to the Director at the central office in Washington, D.C., prior to the middle of January, for practically all of the literature will be distributed by that time.

A special effort will be made to discover and collect manuscript materials now found in the hands of Negroes and too often destroyed in the passing of the elders of the group when such documents fall into the hands of persons who have no particular appreciation for them and permit them to be thrown away. To preserve these documents in their present form that they may tell the story of the past when this generation is no more the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History is concentrating particular attention upon this point just now. It is requested that such materials be collected and deposited in the archives of the Association where they will be preserved under fire-proof protection. The Association desires especially such documents as letters, wills, deeds, receipts, manumissions papers, diaries, family records, and the like.

A number of persons have also expressed interest in the organization of junior branches of the Association to extend the study of Negro history among the youth. A plan for the organization of such societies was submitted by a committee at the last annual meeting of the Association and adopted. This plan is now being carried out wherever the interest is sufficient to assure permanent work. The plan adopted is as follows:

1. Junior societies shall be organized in junior and senior high schools, and among such other groups as may become interested.

2. In cities or communities where branches for the study of Negro life and history already exist the organization of the junior society or societies shall be under the supervision of the president of the local branch or someone designated by him.

3. In places where no branch exists the junior society or societies shall be organized and supervised by someone interested in Negro history. This person shall be designated by the home office.

4. Each junior member shall pay an annual fee of fifty cents (50¢), which shall be used for the annual outline of study, for purposes of instruction, and for the dissemination of information.

5. The committee recommends *African Myths and Negro Makers of History* as useful literature which may be extensively used by the junior branches. These books may be obtained from the Associated Publishers, 1538 Ninth Street, Northwest, Washington, D.C.

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NEGRO HISTORY WEEK THE FOURTH YEAR

The ways in which Negro History Week was celebrated this year did not differ so widely from the manner of the observance of previous years; but the increasing number of participants among persons recently becoming interested was the outstanding fact in this fourth observance. With two exceptions some one in the Department of Education of every State with considerable Negro population invited the attention of the public school teachers to this celebration and distributed the literature. This cooperation came in response to an appeal of the Director in a letter to these State authorities requesting their cooperation. He emphasized the fact that while every intelligent person should study general history no man can be inspired to make the most of himself unless he learns the story of his own fellows who have demonstrated the possibilities of the group to which he belongs.

The immediate result was an unusually large number of calls for literature and for more detailed explanation of the celebration to those participants who recently had been reached. Many were anxious to know when and where such a movement started; and it had to be explained that the Director of the Association for the Study of Negro

Life and History inaugurated it in February, 1926, as the best means to invite attention to the record of the Negro and to secure adequate support to prosecute the study of the long neglected aspects of this history. As a result of this information thus disseminated there developed a general feeling that the effort is a commendable one deserving public support.

The celebration as carried out was largely the work of the schools and churches. The teachers informed their pupils, and the pastors told the people the story. Lodges and fraternities likewise became interested and conveyed the thought to their constituencies. Almost every one, then, had a chance to be reminded of a thing uppermost in the minds of a large number of thinking people. The greatest publicity was given the effort by the press, especially such weeklies as *The Philadelphia Tribune*, *The Baltimore Commonwealth*, *The Chicago Defender*, *The Palmetto Leader*, *The Tampa Bulletin*, *The Washington Eagle*, and *The Norfolk Journal and Guide*. Mr. P. B. Young, and Mr. Robert J. Nelson, editors of the last mentioned papers, gave considerable space not only to the notices of such exercises, but undertook in their editorial columns to interpret the significance of the celebration in the development of the youth and also to arouse more interest in a whole-hearted public support of the Association.

The interest manifested by the dailies was not general, but wherever a reporter became interested or the public exercises proved to be impressive, notice was taken of these events throughout the parts where the Negro population is most numerous. The newspapers of the South were especially obliging in this respect. Other persons interested in the promotion of the whole truth, however, directed to this effort the attention of the people in general. A few schools in parts of the country where the Negro population is not considerable also became interested and asked for literature bearing on Negro life and history. Some of such schools as did not actually participate in the celebration

did inform their students of the fact that Negro History Week was being observed and explained to them its significance. Notices of the celebration were carried in some of the extensively circulated school periodicals in Pennsylvania, New York, New England, and the West.

While the area most thoroughly touched was that covered by the dense Negro population, where schools could be used to reach the multitude, the territory interested was in no sense thus restricted. If the public schools because of lack of Negro pupils failed to manifest interest in the celebration, Negro churches and social welfare agencies in such places became still more active for this very reason. The community centers called their workers to the task, uplift organizations took it up as a part of their program, and fraternal associations entered upon it with enthusiasm. In the churches where young people's societies are ever active the problem was easily solved. They readjusted their topics to provide for a discussion of the achievements of Negroes. Churches with literary societies easily harmonized their efforts with the celebration. They drilled the youth for special exercises and called upon speakers for informing addresses as a climax for such occasions. In centers long accustomed to such efforts it was possible here and there to present creditably a pageant or play depicting Negro life and history.

The dramatization exercises, however, were carried out to better effect among the Negro schools, for there a larger number could be interested and more time could be given to rehearsals. Schools thus aroused, however, suffered from the dearth of plays suitable for this celebration. In the first place, only a few have been written because there has not been very much of such a demand. Most of such plays which have been published, moreover, are adapted only to the capacity of persons of considerable theatrical ability, and at the same time they either hold the Negro up to ridicule or embitter him against his oppressors. The schools need plays depicting Negro life according to the facts in

the case that facts and facts only may speak for themselves. Some persons have made considerable use of "Out of the Dark" and "Ethiopia at the Bar of Justice." These plays, however, have never been extensively circulated. Others have undertaken the impossible for a school in trying to stage a pageant depicting the life of the Negro in Africa, the enslavement of the race, the struggle for freedom, emancipation, and the battle for social justice, all at the same time. Such a pageant is too long and usually breaks down both with respect to execution and the impression it leaves. What the children need is a series of plays each dramatizing certain aspects of Negro history or depicting the characteristics of the race in short snappy fashion. They should not be made too serious, and they should not be spoiled with too much revenge or hate.

During this celebration, therefore, the Director has kept this need in mind. Endeavoring to supply this demand, he witnessed all such plays accessible to him and requested copies of such from various parts of the country. Fortunately a considerable number of them have been thus collected, and they will be edited for publication by a committee on dramatics cooperating with the Director. The plan, then, is to bring out this collection in book form to be extensively circulated in time for adequate preparation for next year. Persons who have suggestions or who have plays for consideration are urged to send them to the national office at their earliest convenience. A proper gradation of these plays is required. Some may be of the simple order for children in the elementary schools. Others may be of the more involved sort for students in high schools. No attempt will be made to meet the requirements of college dramatics. It is believed that plays already published will supply that need.

Representatives of young people's societies have realized that attention should be directed to the achievements of the Negro not only during the second week of February but throughout the year. They have emphasized during this

celebration, therefore, the need for a collection of biographical sketches in the language of children, a book from which they may take at each Sunday meeting, facts of Negro achievement to illustrate from life the religious topic which they will discuss. Whether or not such a thing is feasible is a different story, but it well illustrates the all but universal interest in the past of the Negro and the good purposes which the celebration of Negro History Week has served. If all of the public schools were permitted to teach the achievements of the Negro as they do those of the Mesopotamian, the Greek, the Roman, or the Teuton, such an expedient would be unnecessary; but until the teaching of the past of one race gives place to the teaching of the record of all, some such devices will be resorted to by the thinkers of the group.

This celebration, however, has shown that the possibility of putting Negro history into the curriculum is not a far distant prospect. The effort has already resulted in the limited use of six books on the Negro as text, in certain public schools. One of these books, *The Negro in Our History*, is thus used here and there in twenty-one States. Dr. G. R. Simpson's *Toussaint Louverture*, is as an optional textbook in French for the high schools in the District of Columbia and in several colleges. Kerlin's *Negro Poets and Their Poems*, is studied as a text in poetry in a number of high schools and colleges. *African Myths* has been adopted by boards of education in cities of Arkansas, West Virginia, and Maryland. *Negro Makers of History* has been accepted in these very places, and like *The Negro in Our History*, has been adopted by the Board of Education of Atlanta, Georgia. Inasmuch as two of these books adapted especially to the use of children in the elementary schools have recently appeared, it cannot now be indicated how extensively they may be used. It is encouraging that the increasing interest in this direction has been attested by the fact that as many as six Southern States have taken under advisement the question of adopting these books for

use in the public schools. Others bound by law which requires adoption only at certain periods will consider the matter officially when bids for school books are again in order.

The celebration, too, has developed another problem along with that of the adoption of suitable textbooks. Who will teach Negro history when it is made a part of the curriculum? Teachers now in charge of the schools and colleges know very little about it. What information they have in this field is just about what the laymen may obtain in reading magazine articles or newspaper accounts of Negroes or what they may happen to glean from hearing a eulogy or oration on Negro achievement. Negro history was not required of our teachers when they were in school, and they cannot be blamed for knowing less of this than of other things. To meet this need the State Department of Education of North Carolina has taken the advanced step of allowing teachers credit toward a certificate for extension work which they may do in Negro history. They recite from textbooks to an instructor once or twice a week to ground themselves thoroughly in this neglected part of their education.

Other groups of teachers and branches of the Association are working in a different way toward the same end. In such circles they designate some one as an instructor and pay the required fees for him to take a course in the Home Study Department of the Association. As the lesson sheets prepared by this student instructor are returned to him with corrections and suggestions he develops the necessary power to direct the study of his group or circle. Teachers in colleges who as a result of this movement have been required to give instruction in Negro life and history, have also taken courses in the Home Study Department and report satisfactory results in thereafter instructing their students.

In a different way the movement has stimulated teachers of white children to learn a little about the Negro. Some

of them are buying books on the subject. At liberal centers their superintendents occasionally urge them to acquaint themselves with the Negro and his problems. In the training schools of the South, however, more is being done through such courses as "The Negro Problem" or "Inter-racial Relations." In these things there is much pretense or sham, but some of these people are actually approaching the question scientifically. White educators are saying to their students that they are not prepared to work in the South unless they are informed on Negro life and history.

THE NEGRO AS A LOCAL BUSINESS MAN

I. THE STATUS PRIOR TO 1865

In more than one sense the Negro in business is not exactly a recent development. The Negro in Africa was known as a sharp trader, and the evil effects of slavery did not always eradicate this tendency in the natives brought to America, although the institution undoubtedly destroyed the initiative in most Negroes. The economic system of the South, however, was such that a few Negroes had the chance to learn by observation and a still smaller number by actual participation in business. The inability of the aristocratic class to see dignity in labor saddled upon that section a double cost in business. To each position requiring the least manual labor were assigned two persons, a white man who actually held the position and received the income therefrom and a Negro who did practically all of the work which the position required. For example, the clerk in a store would meet the customers, politely inquire what they wanted, and discuss prices with them, after which the Negro would be told to measure the cloth or weigh the amount of flour or bacon required.

Some of the richest merchants and the prosperous planters, however, did not go about things in this way. In positions requiring more labor than clerical skill, Negroes were generally used. In a few positions in which the situation was just the reverse exceptional Negroes were also used. There arose no objection to the use of Negroes in such capacities until about a century ago when the slaves began to indulge too freely in servile insurrections. It was believed that these disturbances were caused by abolition literature; and it was contended that some of these Negroes would never have learned to read, if they had not been thus trained for business or if they had not learned by business experience. It was also said and actually proved that

Negroes assembling at their own places of business, discussed and devised measures for their liberation. Some of the States, therefore, passed laws prohibiting the use or employ of slaves in any business whatsoever in which a knowledge of reading or writing was required.¹

This, however, was not the end of the ante bellum Negro in business. It tended to eliminate the slaves in most places and handicapped the free Negroes; but such regulations did not always apply to the latter because of their higher status, their influential connections, and the ties of blood which often brought to their rescue the richest men in the community. Even the slaves sometimes evaded the operation of such laws; for the master, often a law unto himself, would use his bondmen to suit his convenience. As late as the decade immediately preceding the Civil War, Isaiah T. Montgomery, the slave of Joseph Davis, the brother of Jefferson Davis, was privately educated by his master as the accountant of his plantation in spite of a specific law of Mississippi prohibiting such instruction or such use of slaves. In large urban communities of the South, moreover, these hostile measures were generally ignored or evaded by business men.²

Certain enterprises managed by Negroes, then, continued down to the Civil War in spite of a changing attitude toward the enslaved. The lines of business in which the Negroes tended to endure were those in which hard labor or menial service was required. No one seriously objected to the Negroes doing what most white men did not care to do. The free Negro business man in the slaveholding district, moreover, had a better chance in cities where his own people living in the ghetto offered an opportunity for exploitation. Such groups developed at points like Baltimore, Richmond, Norfolk, Wilmington, Charleston, Savannah, Mobile, and

¹ *The Norfolk and Portsmouth Herald*, Aug. 30, 1822; *The City Gazette and Commercial Advertiser*, Aug. 21, 1822; Woodson, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*, chapter VII.

² Woodson, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*, chapter XI.

New Orleans. These free Negroes constituting a community within a community often had to be supplied with the necessities from stores nearer to them than those in the distant business sections of the cities. Before the foreign white merchants saw the possibilities of this local trade it was controlled by enterprising free Negroes. The free Negro began to lose it even before the Civil War, not so much because of a lack of efficiency but largely on account of a half free status carrying numerous social and economic handicaps which the white merchant never had to face.³

Some instances of the ante bellum Negro in business will be worth while here in determining the significance of these efforts. In almost all of the Southern cities the Negroes were the barbers, butchers, mechanics and artisans. They made and sold boots, shoes, and clothing on a small scale. They also kept popular restaurants, cafes, and hotels. This condition obtained especially in the Southeast. A Negro in Charleston built up such a profitable business in making sails that he could buy slaves to assist him in the work. Creighton, another Negro business man in that city, accumulated considerable wealth which he devoted to the colonization of Negroes in Liberia. A Negro in business for ten years in Huntsville, Alabama, accumulated a small fortune which he also spent on African colonization. Jehu Jones, another enterprising Negro of Charleston was the proprietor of one of its most popular hotels. In 1833 Solomon Humphries was a prosperous grocer in Macon, Georgia, worth about twenty thousand dollars and had more credit than any other merchant in town. A free woman of color ran one of the most popular taverns in New Orleans during these years while others of her group had stores of all descriptions. Thomy Lafon, of the same city, accumulated there real estate to the amount of almost half a million dollars.⁴

Considered from the point of view of having more free-

³ Woodson, *The Negro in Our History*, 253-254.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 247-248.

dom, the free Negro in the North had a better chance to develop in business than his brother in the South. For several reasons, however, the Negro business man in the North was hardly any better off than he was in the South. In the first place, there were only a few Negroes in the North, and in the scattered state the number found in a community did not suffice for the support which local business required. Because of the antagonism of trades unions in the North, moreover, the Negroes were forced mainly into menial service which did not pay as much as Negro mechanics and artisans were earning in the South. The income of the Negroes in Northern communities being much in kind, too, was rendered still more inadequate to support local enterprises. Besides, in the North where business was better developed, requiring more efficiency and capital than in smaller urban communities of the South, the Negro had still less chance to figure in the business world. Furthermore, when near the middle of the nineteenth century the German and Irish immigrating into this country drove the Negroes even out of menial service in many Northern cities, business among Negroes became a far distant prospect. The riotous condition in which the immigrants kept such cities because of their competition with Negro labor often broke up Negro businesses which had been prosperous for years. In some cases entire Negro communities had to move out to more congenial places in the North or to Canada.⁵ Inasmuch as business requires time, even generations, to become well established, this may account in some measure for the failure of the Northern free Negroes to develop very far in this direction.

Notwithstanding these untoward conditions, however, the Northern Negro here and there showed that he could make opportunities and triumph over apparently insurmountable obstacles. Joseph C. Cassey and William Platt became enterprising lumber merchants in Western New York; Henry Topp came forward as a leading merchant

⁵ Woodson, *A Century of Negro Migration*, chapters II and III.

tailor in Albany; and Henry Scott of New York City, founded and promoted for a number of years one of the most successful pickling establishments in that metropolis. Along with him arose Edward V. Clark, a prosperous jeweler, and Thomas Downing, a caterer. Other successful caterers in New York City were Cornelia Gomez, Jacob Day, David Roselle, Katie Ferguson, Peter Van Dyke, and Boston Crummell, the father of Alexander Crummell.⁶ The Negroes of Philadelphia had taxable property to the amount of \$350,000 in 1832, \$359,626 worth in 1837, and \$400,000 worth in 1847. Much of this property consisted of the accumulations of successful caterers like Robert Bogle, Peter Augustin, the Prossers, Thomas J. Dorsey, Henry Jones, and Henry Minton.⁷ Five hundred of these Negroes were mechanics, and a considerable number ranked as business men. Among the latter were James Forten, a sail manufacturer, Joseph Casey, a broker, and Stephen Smith, a lumber merchant. William Goodrich of York was investing in railroad stock. Benjamin Richards of Pittsburgh was accumulating wealth in the butchering business, and Henry M. Collins of the same city was developing a real estate enterprise of considerable proportions.⁸

“In the Northwest Territory, where many free Negroes from the South were colonized,” says Dr. C. G. Woodson, “their achievements in business were no less significant. David Jenkins, of Columbus, Ohio, was then a wealthy painter, glazier, and paperhanger. One Hill of Chillicothe was its leading tanner and currier. In Cincinnati, where, as a group, the Negroes had their best opportunity they acquired by 1840, \$228,000 of real estate. Out of this group in Cincinnati came some very useful Negroes. Among them may be mentioned Robert Harlan, the horseman; A. V. Thompson, the tailor; J. Presley and Thomas Ball, contractors; and Samuel T. Wilcox, the merchant, who was

⁶ Washington, *The Negro in Business*, 39.

⁷ Du Bois, *The Philadelphia Negro*, 34-35.

⁸ Woodson, *The Negro in Our History*, 254-255.

worth \$60,000 in 1859. There were among them two other successful Negroes, Henry Boyd and Robert Gordon. Boyd was a Kentucky freedman who helped to overcome the prejudice in Cincinnati against Negro mechanics by inventing and exploiting a corded bed. The demand for this bed was extensive throughout the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. He had a creditable manufacturing business in which he employed twenty-five men.

“Robert Gordon, the other Negro there,” continues this historian, “was doubtless a more interesting character. He was born the slave of a rich yachtsman in Richmond, Virginia. His master placed him in charge of a coal yard. He managed it so faithfully that his owner gave him all of the slack resulting from the handling of the coal. Selling this to local manufacturers, he thereby accumulated thousands of dollars in the course of time. He purchased himself in 1846; and, after inspecting several Negro settlements in the North, went into the coal business in Cincinnati. Having then about \$15,000, Gordon made much more progress in this coveted enterprise than his competitors desired. They thereupon reduced the price of coal so as to make it unprofitable for Gordon to continue in the business. He was shrewd enough to fill all of his orders at the white coal yards by making his purchases through mulattoes who could pass for white. Soon there followed a general freezing on the Ohio River, which made it impossible to bring coal to Cincinnati. Gordon then sold out his supply at advanced prices. This so increased his wealth that he was later in a position to invest extensively in United States bonds during the Civil War and afterward in real estate on Walnut Hills in Cincinnati.”*

II. THE SITUATION AFTER 1865

The emancipation of the Negroes, of course, marked an epoch in their economic development. They were made free at least nominally by the Thirteenth Amendment, and

* Woodson, *The Negro in Our History*, 260-261.

the Fourteenth together with the laws of various States granted them the right to acquire and inherit property, to sue and be sued, and to enter upon any occupation they desired. While there has been much discussion of the right of franchise as unwisely granted to the freedmen by the Fifteenth Amendment there has been no effort among legislators to annul their economic rights except in the peonage districts.¹⁰ One, therefore, might be misled in thinking that the Negro in 1865 had for the first time his unusual opportunity in business, and that it is his fault that he has not risen rapidly in the business world. A mere legal grant of a thing, however, does not mean that it will be immediately enjoyed. Public opinion is often more binding than law. In spite of legal efforts to the contrary conditions of long standing cannot be easily changed since people are accustomed to do one day what they did the day before.

It happened in this very way with the Negro in business. The mere opportunity for a larger number to go into business did not mean that they would avail themselves of it. To succeed in anything one must have an urge in that direction. The large majority of Negroes had been so situated that they could not think of themselves as having possibilities in business. The number found in business for years after the emancipation, therefore, did not far exceed the number thus engaged before the Civil War; and the few who thus set themselves up in communities where neither others nor their own people had observed Negroes operating in this field, did not easily succeed. They could hardly expect whites to abandon their former connections to patronize novices in business; and the freedmen themselves could not easily abandon the thought that the white business man was more reliable and could give the most in return for one's money. The Negroes had been educated along these lines during slavery, and it was very difficult to get rid of

¹⁰ Reference is made here to the fact that, according to the findings of investigators of the Federal Government, Negroes are still in slavery in certain rural districts.

such education in a few years. New leaders in the economic world, of course, sought to eradicate such an idea, but in the long struggle the Negro business man with limited capital usually failed because of such unfair competition.

The lack of capital, too, was more than a contributing cause of the slow development of the Negro in business. It may be considered the real cause. Money was scarce in the South during these years. Impoverished by a devastating war, the South took so long to recuperate that students of economic history often speak of this ordeal as passing through a "dark age." Business men of the South well known in their group had difficulty in obtaining adequate capital for their enterprises. It was out of the question, then, for untried Negroes in business to be more successful in financing their projects. During the reconstruction period, moreover, the Negroes in a sense were crowded out of business by the most intelligent and aristocratic whites of the South. Some of them suffering from disabilities on account of participation in the War for Southern Independence, and others disinclined to participate in politics with Negroes, went into business whenever they could obtain adequate funds. They opened stores, started factories, and built railroads to develop the resources of the South. Many of these enterprises failed for lack of capital, but practically all of the business of the South remained in the hands of the few whites who succeeded. The Negroes then served largely as the laboring element in practically the same situation in which they were before their emancipation except that they worked for wages or toiled disadvantageously as tenants. Inasmuch as such wages were generally low during these years there was little chance for the Negroes to accumulate capital from such earnings, and the Negroes of that day had not developed anything like the cooperative spirit in pooling their savings. Furthermore, it was hard for one freedman to become reconciled to the idea of seeing one get too far ahead of the other. Of course, there was nothing exceptional in seeing the Negro in such busi-

ness as that of a barber, cleaner, or caterer, in which the free people of color figured before the Civil War. They kept such business for a long time after that sectional conflict, but bigger business made inroads on these.¹¹

During this period, however, the Negro in business tried to make a little improvement. James Tate was running a fine grocery in Atlanta in 1866, which became the nucleus of properties amounting to \$60,000; Willis Murphy and G. H. Morgan followed in his footsteps; Moses Calhoun was equally successful at the same time with his lunch room; one Cargile took up the undertaking business in that city about 1870 only to be outstripped in this field a few years later by the prosperous D. T. Howard; Alexander Hamilton began his career as a contractor in 1875; C. C. Cater, Peter Eskridge, H. A. Rucker, Charles McHenry, Peter Moyer, Jake McKinley, and one Rivers were laying foundations for enterprise of much promise. Negroes in South Carolina owned and conducted as many as forty-nine stores in 1880; and William Taylor, one of these business men, had such a large trade in his grocery at Columbia that he had to call in the police on Saturdays to handle the crowd.¹² In 1890 there were 1,068 Negroes in Virginia classified as merchants. In Williamsburg, Virginia, Samuel Harris kept a large store throughout the reconstruction and readjustment periods, doing a business of more than \$50,000 a year. This enabled him to have his own vessel for shipping goods and to acquire real estate in Newport News, Norfolk, and Richmond.¹³ Warren C. Coleman began dealing in rags, bones and old iron in Concord, North Carolina, in 1876, and built up a creditable business valued at \$100,000 in 1881.¹⁴

At the same time a few ambitious freedmen were undertaking larger things. In 1868 enterprising Virginia Negroes organized a Home Building Fund and Loan Association.

¹¹ Du Bois, *The Philadelphia Negro*, 120.

¹² Taylor, *The Negro in South Carolina During the Reconstruction*, 68.

¹³ *The Journal of Negro History*, XI, 375, and Richings, *Evidence of Progress Among Colored People*, 300-301.

¹⁴ Richings, *Evidence of Progress Among Colored People*, 301-304.

In 1871 M. R. DeMortie organized in Richmond a company which established a sassafras oil factory.¹⁵ With John M. Langston as president, certain Negroes started in 1875, the Richmond Land and Financial Association. In 1880 the Mount Alto Mining and Land Company of Virginia was established with an authorized capital of not less than \$5,000 nor more than \$500,000 to acquire 100,000 acres of land, the timber and minerals of which would be developed in the interest of Negroes.¹⁶ These corporations, however, did not live.

The emancipation of the whole race in 1865 made much less change in the status of the Negro in business in the North than in the South. With the exception of the grant of civic rights which theretofore had been generally withheld, the Negroes in the North had nothing new in their life. The unprecedented industrial development of the North and West during this period, moreover, tended to leave the small Negro business man behind, and the rise of the railroads at the expense of the steamboat lines threw out of employment a large number of Negroes who as waiters and stewards had earned money to go into business for themselves at points along the Ohio and Mississippi. For a long time, the Negroes of Cincinnati, for example, had less business after 1865 than they had before the Civil War. Some few places in the North, moreover, might have supported Negroes in business had it not been for the all but break-up of certain of their communities as a result of the rush of Negro carpet-baggers to the South immediately after the enfranchisement of the freedmen. They believed that among such large numbers of their group, the educated Negroes of the North would have a much better chance in all things.¹⁷

The most numerous business men among Negroes in the North, then, were barbers, caterers, and restaurant keepers

¹⁵ *The Richmond Whig*, Aug. 4, 1871.

¹⁶ *The Richmond Dispatch*, Feb. 11, 1880.

¹⁷ Woodson, *A Century of Negro Migration*, 123-125.

as they were before the Civil War. In these, as formerly, there were those who were outstanding such as John S. Trower, and Andrew F. Stevens, enterprising caterers of Philadelphia after 1870; Charles H. Smiley successfully operating in the same business in Chicago after 1880; W. H. Smith, William A. Heyliger, William E. Cross, Charles Day, George Moore, and Francis J. Moultrie, all caterers in New York, about this time. Carrying this idea considerably further, J. L. Thomas maintained a first class hotel for whites, at Union Springs, Alabama; John B. Nail and his brother succeeded with their efficiently managed cafe in New York; and E. C. Berry developed at Athens, Ohio, a most creditable hotel made popular by his refusal to sell strong drink a long time before national prohibition seemed possible.¹⁸ There were also Walter P. Hall, a poultry dealer of Philadelphia; John Lankford, a florist beginning in that city in 1876; S. L. Parker, an ice cream manufacturer at Laurel, Delaware, about 1885; Daniel Purdy, a merchant and contractor in Chester, Pennsylvania in 1886; J. H. Lewis, a tailor in Boston who by 1880, made himself the second largest merchant tailor in Massachusetts; and W. Q. Atwood, a real estate and lumber dealer in East Saginaw, Michigan, who by that time had built up a business worth \$100,000.¹⁹

Some other efforts in various parts gave positive evidence of the vitality of business among Negroes. There were numerous Negro undertakers, but the further possibilities of Negroes in this line were being well demonstrated by Elijah Cook in Montgomery, Alabama; by William M. Porter, in Cincinnati, Ohio; by J. C. Jackson, in Lexington, Kentucky; by G. W. Franklin, in Chattanooga, Tennessee; by Preston Taylor in Nashville, Tennessee; and by James C. Thomas in New York City. It was of some inspiration, too, that Victor H. Tulane, of Montgomery, Alabama, was then making himself a striking example of what the Negro

¹⁸ Washington, *The Negro in Business*, 40, 41, 47-67.

¹⁹ Richings, *Evidences of Progress Among Colored People*, 298-300, 306-310, 316-325.

might do in the grocery business under proper management. The financial gains and real estate acquisitions of Judge M. W. Gibbs in Little Rock, Arkansas, were significant. The culmination of such efforts of his fellow townsman, John E. Bush, in what became an industrial insurance company known as the People's Mutual Association, or Mosaic Templars,²⁰ was still more significant.

The report of the United States Bureau of the Census in 1890 will give a better idea of these activities among Negroes during these years, for by that time most of the persons already mentioned herein either had begun their efforts or had very well developed in the field in which they were operating. According to these records, there were among Negroes at that time 17,480 barbers, 420 hotel keepers, 2,157 restaurant keepers, 1,172 agents, 114 bankers and brokers, 293 bookkeepers and accountants, 4,972 clerks and copyists, 126 stenographers and typewriters, 103 commercial travelers, 43,963 draymen, hackmen and teamsters, 471 foremen and overseers, 2,516 hucksters and peddlers, 390 livery stable keepers, 7,181 merchants, 213 officials of banks and companies, 567 packers and shippers, 1,166 salesmen and saleswomen, 156 telegraph and telephone operators, and 231 undertakers.²¹

III. ACHIEVEMENTS ANALYZED

The enterprises herein noted as having developed after the emancipation of the Negroes, however, were more of a demonstration of the fact that they had not ceased to figure in business than evidence of any distinct achievement. Upon the emerging of the South from its industrial depression or its recovery from the devastation of war, the Negroes began to increase their incomes here and there sufficiently to think of figuring more conspicuously in the business world. One contributing factor to the new thought of the Negro was an effort to recover what had been lost

²⁰ Washington, *The Negro in Business*, 94-109, 218-226, 256-261.

²¹ *Negro Population in the United States*, 1790-1915, p. 526.

as the result of the disfranchisement of the freedmen of the South and the general elimination of the Negro from politics. Leadership had to find an outlet, and a people who had once staked so much upon the exercise of civic rights, now had to work out schemes for solving their problems in another way. In this they were following the example of enterprising Southern white men who had restricted themselves to business when their power in politics had been nullified as a result of the losing cause to which they had attached their fortunes.

This activity of the Negro business man, however, was mainly experimental until after the early '90's, when a few enterprises of consequence began to take shape and to impress themselves upon the public. In most of these post bellum cases the effort was largely individual. Most of the Negroes embarking upon enterprises had learned from observation in assisting white business men what their particular business was and how it was directed. These were not generally educated Negroes but persons who could scarcely read or write. They had been employed as such assistants by these firms because of their much lower earning power than in the case of white employees who under other circumstances might have been engaged. In most of these cases, however, these Negroes, although illiterate, were not ignorant. They understood what they saw, and they could reason out some things which they were not permitted to see. After a few years of such observation in close proximity to or in the employ of business establishments, the thought came to some of them that they might also start upward in the business world.

Some of these instances are worthy of notice. H. C. Haynes, employed as a barber, conceived the idea of the ready-to-use razor strop which he exploited to the extent of a business of considerable proportions in Chicago. While serving as a Pullman porter, A. C. Howard worked out a receipt for making better shoe polish than that which he was accustomed to use. This he patented and exploited for

the beginning of a handsome fortune. Z. T. Evans a mattress maker, of New Orleans, grasped the idea of this new venture while toiling as a common laborer in a large carpet and mattress factory. James N. Vandervall, of East Orange, New Jersey, while similarly employed discovered the same secret and worked his way to economic independence in this line. Samuel Scottron, of Brooklyn, New York, contrived to invent a mirror while serving as a barber, and with other experiments with glass he invented artificial onyx and other stones out of which he built up a profitable business.²²

Wiley Jones, of Pine Bluff, Arkansas, found out by association with white business men how money is made in stock investments, and when he died the property which he had thus accumulated was valued at over \$100,000. J. E. Henderson, of Little Rock, Arkansas, employed for years by a jeweler, mastered the business by 1896 and well established himself in that city. R. B. Hudson acquired by observation a knowledge of the coal business in which he prospered in Selma, Alabama. While working in an ice cream factory, J. S. Hicks devised a plan for a plant of his own of this sort which gave him a high rating in business in Erie, Pennsylvania.²³ The wife of H. L. Sanders, of Indianapolis, actually started his white-jacket manufacturing business by making for him such superior jackets to wear at the hotel for which he was working that others seeing them brought her their trade.

Most of these efforts, however, were businesses in spite of themselves. In many cases the persons embarking upon these undertakings had learned one thing when they had not mastered another. They succeeded, therefore, in one respect while they were failing in another. In cases of unusual good luck, they might make up for such shortcomings, but this did not often happen. Success in many of these instances, too, was due to the fact that these business

²² Washington, *The Negro in Business*, 138-158, 242.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 227, 237, 240, 248.

men had useful children and sacrificing wives who earnestly labored for the upbuilding of establishments which they believed would redound some day to the good of all. Many of these enterprises could never have been started at all and after being launched could not have endured a year, if it had not been for the unrelenting toil of the wives and children of these men. There were several cases of some of these women who served in menial capacities or worked at any other occupation they could find to earn money with which to start these enterprises, and when they had been sufficiently well established to require the labor which they were giving elsewhere they toiled all but slavishly to assure success. Those enterprises which did not have these assets did not often succeed, and those thus favored did not have success assured.

As a result, therefore, most of these businesses herein noted above have passed out of existence. The sacrifices made to maintain them were not adequate to the solution of the whole problem. The short life of these enterprises, then, presents a serious aspect of Negro economic history to which one should direct attention. Various explanations for these failures have been offered and all of them taken together may be accepted as a truthful presentation of the case. Many of these businesses were largely individual. The Negro business man who controlled his own enterprise did not take his relatives into his confidence sometimes, thinking that they might not see things as he did and might prove to be a handicap rather than a help. Most of these men, too, were more disinclined to open the secrets of their procedure to other persons whom they employed. In case the children proved to be extravagant, showing inclination to spend rather than to save the money accruing from the business, this was another good reason why they were not admitted to the inner circle. Such children often went into other things for a livelihood, whereas some enterprising fathers in charge of other business ventures permitted their wives and children to fritter away what they had earned

as fast as it was accumulated. Furthermore, the continued lack of cooperation or organization of the business on a large scale frequently tended also to reduce the enterprise to a venture dependent altogether upon one man. If he happened to be an exceptional worker, the business might succeed for a few years; but if it expanded to the extent that one man could not handle it, the whole enterprise often went to pieces as a result of a lack of management during the life of the founder, or because of inefficient successors in case he passed away before the business reached that state.

Another thing contributing to the failure of such business was that white persons in the same community where the Negroes operated, having an eye to business, easily saw the unusual possibilities of the Negro community if thoroughly exploited. Having more capital and credit than the Negro entrepreneur could command, they put the Negro business men to a disadvantage when brought into the competition. This condition continued to grow as the years passed, when business as a whole tended to become concentrated in the hands of persons with sufficient means to buy in large quantities and to sell at low prices. It soon developed in certain parts, then, that the local Negro business man could not buy as cheaply at wholesale as the large white corporations could sell at retail prices. While the Negroes were being taught race pride, and manifested it when it was not expensive to do so, they could not be expected to give a man ten cents for an eight cent pound of sugar and two cents for race pride. These inroads upon the Negro business man, too, were accelerated by the fact that white business men often employed Negroes to bring them the business of their own people. While the income therefrom went to the other group, it seemed that the Negroes were receiving at least a little benefit from such business.

IV. THE TRANSITION AND THE WORLD WAR

Up to the time of the World War, then, the status of Negro business was not the most favorable, although much stimulus had been given by the preachment of Booker T. Washington and the work of the National Negro Business League. In the southland where large numbers of the race might have made enterprise more general it seemed that conditions were becoming worse. Efforts of the Negroes to undertake the bigger things of life were belittled by members of their own group and discouraged by the whites. This was a dark period for the "darker brother." The talented tenth that had already crowded the profession of teaching and preaching thought it best to migrate gradually to the North where they had to compete with foreigners in menial service.²⁴ The educated Negroes had had little training or experience to develop in the direction of business; and even if they had had such background, capital and credit were lacking. Blocked then economically after having been politically eliminated from the equation, many Negroes lost courage in doing some things which they might have successfully carried out.

Great credit, however, should be given to those few Negro business men who weathered the storm and succeeded in spite of handicaps. Prominent among these should be mentioned several local merchants who have been in business more than a generation and seem likely to make a still more favorable impression. One of these, Mr. I. S. Levy, a merchant of Columbia, South Carolina, began business in that city as a cleaner, presser, and journeyman tailor in 1908, the year after he was graduated in the trade at Hampton. At first he had numerous white customers, but in the alienation of the races in politics his business suffered and he found himself dependent altogether upon the members of his own race. By thrift and a successful marriage, however, he gradually built up his business and acquired considerable real estate. In 1915, therefore, when a depart-

²⁴ Woodson, *A Century of Negro Migration*, chapter VIII.

ment store of a white merchant on Washington Street went into bankruptcy, Mr. Levy was able to buy and enlarge it as a more potential business. His store is said to be worth \$50,000. He employs twelve clerks and does business to the amount of \$100,000 a year.

Another of these merchants, Sam Charles, owner of a shoe store in Pensacola, Florida, was employed about 1885 as a porter by the Barr Shipping Company, an English firm exporting from Pensacola. While thus engaged Mr. Charles picked up some shoemaker's tools and began to learn how to make and repair shoes. From this start Charles was soon repairing all the shoes of sailors on the Barr ships, and as his fame grew he soon was repairing the shoes of practically all the foreign sailors in port. With this proficiency in the trade Mr. Charles took courage and moved up on Palafox Street away from the wharves, giving up his job to open his own shoe repair shop. From this start he began to handle a line of new shoes and from time to time continued to add to his stock. Success enabled him also to change his location several times until he is at present found across the street from the Plaza (the public square) one block from the Post Office and the First National Bank. Mr. Charles today is the largest shoe dealer in Pensacola, and is completing his thirty-sixth year of operation.

J. H. Harmon, another successful merchant of this kind, the founder of Harmon's Dry Goods Store, Houston, Texas, is a native of Fort Deposit, Alabama. He lived for a while in Greeneville, Alabama, until the death of his mother left him an orphan and compelled the youth to shift for himself. It was at this juncture that he began to get some practical business experience. He secured a job of cleaning up some of the stores in Greeneville and finally found employment of selling sodas and making syrups for drinks. From Alabama, Harmon went to Florida and Tennessee, where he did hotel work and sold various articles at spare times. As a result of caring for a younger sister he went to Texas and while there entered the Houston Academy about 1894. Af-

ter leaving school he worked with the Houston Drug Company and from there he went in 1899 to assume the management of the Bayou City Drug Company, a joint stock organization. Under his direction the company flourished and its assets increased from six hundred to six thousand dollars. In 1903, Mr. Harmon severed his connection with this company, and in August of that year started in the dry goods business. His impetus was the segregation on public conveyances that aroused a great racial consciousness at that particular time. Until today this business stands out as the oldest dry goods store among Negroes in Texas, the only dry goods store of the race in Houston, and the oldest Negro business in that city.

T. J. Elliott, another business man in this class, owns the only real department store controlled by Negroes in the United States. Mr. Elliott is known as the Prince of Merchants, and he is truly that. Mr. Elliott has the best appointed store in Muskogee, Oklahoma. His markers are on the highway as one approaches Muskogee, and the store itself comes up to its advertisement. His merchandise consists of the best that money can buy. Mr. Elliott's business history is indeed an interesting one. While a small boy he took orders for pants and suits at his home in Mississippi under the name of Elliott Brothers, the name of his store today. He later became a teacher in the schools of Indian Territory near Muskogee. At his spare time from teaching, he sold pants and suits. Soon he found that he was making more at selling pants than he was at teaching. However, as Elliott's pants business grew he incurred the displeasure of one of the members of the school board, who was in the clothing business. It was this gentleman that finally made it so unpleasant for Elliott that he had to resign as a teacher. Being a married man, he did not see at first how he could support himself and wife on the sale of pants, but through hard and consistent effort he soon had a store in Muskogee carrying a splendid line of goods. It is also interesting to note that the hostile member of the

school board who made it so very unpleasant for Mr. Elliott was forced to go out of business when Mr. Elliott became active. Elliott is without a doubt the only true retailer among Negroes.

In this group belongs also C. H. James, a native of Ohio. About thirty years ago he began peddling various articles, carrying a pack on his back through the rural districts of Ohio and West Virginia. He soon accumulated sufficient money thereby to go in the country produce business in Charleston, West Virginia. At first he operated on a small scale in a store with rooms above it affording modest shelter for his family. He applied himself seriously to his business, however, and rapidly built it up to the point that he could restrict himself altogether to wholesale transactions. He not only made money but gave satisfaction. His establishment, then, became popular not only in Charleston but throughout the Kanawha Valley. The owners of coal mines especially depended upon him to supply the stores with carloads of food for their workers. In this way he built up a volume of business amounting to about \$250,000 a year. Few business men of any race in that city had more credit than James, and he enjoyed the confidence and respect of all.

Another Negro enterprise once local but now inter-state or national deserves mention here. This is the Greenfield Bus Body Company. This concern had its beginning in 1876 as a buggy manufacturing company. The promoters were Lowe and Patterson, continuing this style of the firm to 1880. Lowe was a white man. When the business had attained considerable success, the product of the concern being extensively used, Mr. Lowe withdrew. In 1880, the concern changed its firm name to that of Patterson, Sons and Company, successors to Lowe and Patterson, and was operated for twenty years as a buggy manufacturing establishment. The buggy thus produced was sold in all parts of the United States. The concern was highly successful. In the passing of the buggy, however, Patterson, Sons and

Company entered the automobile manufacturing business in 1900, placing on the market a car under the name of the Patterson-Greenfield. The company did not manufacture cars to any great extent, as it did not prove profitable business at that time with the type of labor that they could secure. In 1900, the firm was incorporated as the Greenfield Bus Body Company, which is the present name. The capital stock of the present concern is fifty thousand dollars. With exception of less than a thousand dollars the stock is held by the family. This thousand dollars is owned by a white man. The firm now specializes in body building. Its present output is five hundred bodies yearly, with an annual income of a little more than one hundred fifty thousand dollars. The maximum pay roll is about five thousand monthly. The corporation enjoys the reputation of building the best bus body in the State of Ohio and with a sale of the largest number of bodies of any corporation of its character in Ohio. It supplies bodies for every type and for all kinds of business. It builds under contract bodies for school boards for Ohio, West Virginia, and Kentucky, as well as commercial types for persons in several states. It has the patronage of the Inter-national Truck Company for building their special bodies and does some of the business of the Ford Manufacturing Company.

Still another undertaking which has outgrown its local status must also be given space. This is the Southern Candy Company owned and operated by Arthur Herndon in Spartanburg, South Carolina. Mr. Herndon is the only Negro candy manufacturer and wholesale dealer in the country. He learned the trade of candy making in a sweet shop in New Haven, Connecticut, near Yale University, where he worked as a boy and young man. Later he was employed in a large candy factory in New York City as a kettleman, where he supervised the cooking of several hundred tons of candy weekly. He was offered a good position as superintendent of the candy making department of the Georgia-Carolina Candy Company of Spartanburg, but upon his

arrival the white cooks and candy makers quit, refusing to work under a black man. The company then hired Negro help, and Herndon had to begin at the bottom and teach them the trade. He held this position for five years, until the company went into the hands of a receiver. Herndon, then, bought part of the company's machinery and went into the business for himself. He now makes 150 kinds of candy, ninety per cent of which he sells to white people. He is rated as being worth from \$35,000 to \$50,000; and he does \$120,000 worth of business a year.

During this period, too, there developed several efforts in the direction of the manufacture of cosmetics or toilet articles. These began as local enterprises, although they later became national. The first to make a tremendous success along this line was Madame C. J. Walker, operating from Indianapolis, Indiana. In the beginning of such businesses they did not make a favorable impression upon the Negroes, and they were regarded with ridicule by the whites. Neither race thought well of the business based upon hair growing. In the course of time, however, these preparations were not restricted to any remedy for such a treatment. They covered practically all of the needs for toilet supplies. The stigma attached thereto gradually passed away as a result of the enormous business which these establishments developed. Madame Walker's enterprise grew by leaps and bounds until her wealth was reported in a sum almost incredible. Before she passed away in 1919 her wealth was commonly referred to as amounting to a million. Since that time the business has been well developed under F. B. Ransom, the manager. A very fine home office building recently constructed in Indianapolis gives further evidence of the impression which this enterprise has made in the business world.

Equally successful were the efforts of Mrs. Annie M. Turnbo-Malone. Early in her life she manifested interest in chemistry as a high school pupil. As a result of experimentation some years later, she brought out a preparation

called "The Wonderful Hair Grower," which she exploited from the rear room of a small frame building in Lovejoy, Illinois. Her business of producing this remedy and toilet articles in general developed sufficiently for her to move to larger quarters on Market Street in St. Louis. There by extensive advertisement and efficient management, the business expanded still further in large proportions, and she had to move to more spacious quarters on Pine Street. The business soon outgrew this new home, and the founder had to construct the spacious and beautiful office building which now serves as headquarters of the business incorporated as "Poro College," at Pendleton Street and Ferdinand Avenue. This business is by far the outstanding manufacturing establishment among Negroes in the West and one of the most interesting in the world. Everything is kept neat and clean, the management is efficient, and the service is highly satisfactory as is attested by the general support which it receives. While it is difficult to estimate the value of this business it has been generally rated as being worth more than a million dollars, as is shown by the income tax which Mrs. Malone has to pay.

Out of similar beginnings came the Overton Hygienic Company, engineered by Anthony Overton. He is a native of Louisiana who went to Kansas where he advanced sufficiently in education to study at the university of that State. He finally hit upon the scheme of manufacturing things. He started out first with baking powder with which he admirably succeeded. Coming to Chicago, he finally expanded the business so as to produce a cosmetic known as "High Brown Face Powder." This preparation favorably impressed the public as meeting a need in the world of fashions and served as a nucleus of a most profitable business with ramifications extending into all parts of this country and to some extent abroad. From the income earned in this business Mr. Overton has been able to branch out along several other lines, such as the establishing of the Douglass National Bank and the Victory Life Insurance Company.

Because of these various interests it is very difficult to determine exactly how much business Mr. Overton controls, but it is well known that he has amassed a fortune in three lines, either one of which would have been a credit to a genius.

These businesses which endured received their greatest stimulus during the conflict of nations. The World War changed conditions to the extent of a revolution in doing things. People in general learned to cooperate and especially to do the "impossible" in "drives." Negroes, therefore, learned to appreciate their physical and financial strength while awakening at the same time to see the value of cooperation. If they could do as much as they did to raise funds to carry on the war they could do something for their own good. Race riots like those in Washington and Chicago, moreover, tended to drive the Negroes together for mutual help. These Negroes thus aroused, then, became not only racially conscious, but economically conscious. From this realization Negroes began to enter business in a larger measure. Negro centers of business sprang up here and there, in Atlanta, Durham, Richmond, Norfolk, Washington, Philadelphia, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Columbus Cincinnati, Indianapolis, St. Louis, Kansas Cities, Tulsa, Little Rock, Memphis, Nashville, Savannah, Houston, and Dallas. Negroes in these large urban centers having had the advantage of better educational facilities were quick to grasp the necessity of building and supporting their own enterprises. They were able to do this better because of their greater wage income due to the demand for their labor during this period.

The Negro in business, then, was no longer an exception. Whereas one formerly found no Negro business man in the average community except the barber, the keeper of the poolroom, and probably the undertaker, one afterward saw Negroes competing in all lines of commercial enterprise. One of the first things said in one's observation on a visit to the Negroes of a town or city usually turned on the point as

to whether they were developing any business. Exactly what rapid strides the Negroes made during this increasing interest in business between 1910 and 1920 may be estimated by studying the accompanying table. In several cases the number of businesses increased more than one hundred per cent. A real picture of the situation, however, is impossible here when one considers the numerous enterprises which were undertaken during the World War and had to be abandoned as soon as things began to return to their normal state. Unsettled conditions since 1920, moreover, have caused other failures. An investigator discovered that from one-half to two-thirds of the small business establishments of Negroes like butcher shops, groceries, cafes, and tailors, listed in 1920, could not be found in 1927.

This table, moreover, is in some respects misleading. The data compiled for 1890, 1900, and 1910²⁵ was worked out by one staff whereas the figures for 1920 were compiled by a new personnel with a slightly different schedule.²⁶ For example, in the case of bankers and brokers reported in 1890, 1900, and 1910, it is clear that the enumeration included persons who worked around banks in a menial capacity, and in 1910 they doubtless included also those laborers who thus served white banks. The 142 reported in 1920 most assuredly represents only those who were thus engaged as managers and assistants in Negro banks. The same difference in method of reporting probably accounts for the apparent discrepancies in the cases of seamstresses, dressmakers, milliners, packers and shippers.

Several kinds of businesses require here some comment. Real estate dealers included in the 6,405 agents, mentioned in the table, became an unusually important factor in the development of Negro business in connection with banks and other financial institutions. The migration of the Negroes some years later to industrial centers where housing be-

²⁵ *Negro Population in the United States, 1790-1919*, p. 526.

²⁶ *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920*, vol. IV, population, occupations, 341 et. seq.

CERTAIN OCCUPATIONS OF NEGROES

| <i>Classification</i> | 1890 | 1900 | 1910 | 1920 |
|--|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Hotel keepers..... | 420 | 481 | 973 | 1,020 |
| Restaurant keepers..... | 2,157 | 3,993 | 6,369 | 7,511 |
| Agents..... | 1,172 | 2,105 | 4,355 | 6,405 |
| Bankers and brokers and officials of banks and companies..... | 327 | 331 | 1,356 | 142 |
| Bookkeepers and accountants..... | 293 | 475 | 1,628 | 2,364 |
| Clerks and copyists..... | 4,972 | 6,172 | 13,578 | 17,437 |
| Stenographers and typewriters..... | 126 | 395 | 1,081 | 1,312 |
| Commercial travelers..... | 103 | 187 | 332 | 357 |
| Draymen, hackmen, teamsters..... | 43,963 | 67,585 | 96,897 | 56,724 |
| Hucksters and peddlers..... | 2,516 | 3,270 | 3,434 | 3,194 |
| Livery stable keepers..... | 390 | 509 | 403 | 193 |
| Merchants..... | 7,181 | 9,243 | 14,181 | 23,794 |
| Seamstresses and dressmakers..... | 19,432 | 24,106 | 38,907 | 26,973 |
| Milliners..... | 386 | 180 | 1,015 | 590 |
| Packers and shippers..... | 567 | 1,865 | 2,944 | 1,875 |
| Salesmen and saleswomen..... | 1,166 | 2,799 | 4,699 | 6,413 |
| Telegraph and telephone operators..... | 156 | 69 | 362 | 848 |
| Undertakers..... | 231 | 453 | 953 | 1,558 |
| Tailors and tailoresses..... | 1,330 | 1,845 | 7,901 | 6,892 |
| Shoemakers and repairers..... | 5,087 | 4,574 | 6,415 | 4,707 |
| Bakers..... | 1,135 | 1,521 | 2,564 | 3,164 |
| Harness and saddle makers and re- pairers..... | 295 | 270 | 332 | 255 |
| Confectioners..... | 477 | 541 | 707 | 576 |
| Printers, lithographers and pressmen..... | 944 | 1,220 | 2,244 | 1,595 |

came a problem offered an unusual opportunity to these brokers. The number unduly multiplied by the accession to the ranks of those who desired to impose upon uninformed people; but these went out like birds of passage, leaving the field to more substantial men who now have well established realty corporations in most of the largest cities of considerable Negro population. Among these may be mentioned such firms as those of Watt Terry, W. H. Wortham, and Nail and Parker in New York, and Jesse Binga, engaged at the same time as a most prosperous banker, in Chicago. Through such agencies some Negroes have amassed fortunes in real estate as in the cases of C. H. Jones and Dr. D. C. Suggs, of Winston-Salem, whose holdings are said to be worth millions. To promote progress in this direction Negroes have organized and successfully conducted in most of the large cities of the South enterprising building and loan associations which have decidedly stimulated home buying among these people.

During these years, too, Negroes educated as pharmacists developed considerable business in drug stores. This sort of business was aided by the social restrictions in white drug stores in refusing to serve Negroes ice cream and sodas, which sometimes became the basis of more business than the dispensing of medicine. Thirty years ago the Negro drug store was a rarity. Today they are found North or South, East or West, wherever Negroes are in large numbers. The exact number of stores we do not know, but there were 695 Negro pharmacists and druggists in 1910 and 910 in 1920. It seems that the higher intelligence of the trained person in charge of this business assured success when other enterprises managed by the untrained failed. Unfortunately, however, the rise of big business has brought the chain drug stores, which are fast forcing out of this business those Negroes who have not yet learned the importance of cooperation in meeting such competition.

During these years there was a rapid development of the Negro newspaper as result of an increase in race consciousness. The story of these journals does not belong here, but the unusually large printing business which developed in connection therewith deserves consideration in any study of Negro business during this period. Negro newspapers had their beginning in the print shops of practical men, many of whom were uneducated but not ignorant. With a few exceptions, the so-called educated Negro did not figure in these beginnings. Their incomes in recent years have been sufficient to add a much larger and more efficient staff so as to give a new standing to the Negro newspaper and at the same time to reorganize and to conduct such plants as local enterprises of large proportions. This applies especially to such papers as *The St. Louis Argus*, *The Pittsburgh Courier*, *The Norfolk Journal and Guide*, *The Afro-American*, *The Atlanta Independent*, *The Philadelphia Tribune*, *The Dallas Express*, *The Chicago Defender*, and *The Washington Tribune*.

The Negro theater has figured most largely in the busi-

ness arising from amusements among Negroes. The moving-picture show as a lucrative undertaking lured many Negroes as it did whites. At first competition was not keen, and many Negroes rushed into it, hoping to enrich themselves thereby in a few years. Small theaters were established; and, then, followed large ones in cities North and South. The Negroes had not at once become a theater-going people, preferring still their lodges and churches. The Negroes entering the theater business, moreover, had not been trained, and most of them had never had any chance to learn by experience. Furthermore, as the moving-picture business tended to develop by competition it became impossible for Negro houses to get "first runs," and in most cases their capital was not sufficient to pay for them if they could have been obtained. It was equally difficult also to obtain acceptable shows for the speaking stage. White theatrical managers with more capital, moreover, built larger and more attractive houses which took away much of the business from Negroes. The result, then, was failure. Men like E. C. Brown, of Philadelphia, who had invested heavily in theaters lost all they had accumulated and carried others down with them in the wreck.

After making due allowance for all of these things, however, these statistics clearly show the trend of the Negro upward in the commercial world. Although from the point of view of comparison with other groups these achievements are still meager the facts herein officially reported establish the Negro as a possibility in business. All of these efforts were not spasmodic, and the enterprises well engineered survived not only the slump in business resulting from the sudden close of the World War, but they survived also the crisis brought about by the overproduction and overbuying at the high prices, which became so serious in 1921. This, however, was a terrible ordeal for Negro business men, and like any other disadvantaged competitors many of them failed.

V. THE PRESENT STATUS

Having presented some facts concerning the history of Negro Business, we shall now give the present status of the local business men of color. According to the United States Census in 1920 there were in this country over 23,794 merchants and dealers, wholesalers and retailers. There were also more than 3,194 Negro hucksters and peddlers in the United States. In the wholesale field we found no dry goods merchants or clothiers, but there were fish dealers, coal and ice dealers, meat dealers, and commission merchants. In the retail field, there were groceries, department stores, dry goods establishments, giftshops, book stores, haberdasheries, men's shops, hosiery shops, millinery shops, shoe stores, meat markets, flower shops, music stores, piano, and furniture stores. There were factories making furniture, clothes, regalia, cigars, ice cream, salads, sausage, and soaps. Then there were hucksters selling mostly fish, fruits and vegetables, and small confectionery stands.

To get a true measure of what kinds or types of businesses that are numerically the greatest, we took the business directories of eight²⁷ representative cities, widely separated geographically, and classified the businesses as follows:

NEGRO BUSINESS MEN IN EIGHT CITIES

| | | | |
|---|-----|---------------------------------------|----|
| Grocers | 436 | Haberdasheries | 1 |
| Blacksmiths | 12 | Manufacturers of Salads .. | 2 |
| Cleaners and Shoe Repair- ers | 120 | Manufacturers of Garments | 2 |
| Dry Goods Merchants | 4 | Manufacturers of Soft Drinks | 7 |
| Coal and Ice Dealers | 10 | Music Shop Keepers | 3 |
| Department Store Keepers . | 5 | Tailors | 43 |
| Electricians | 4 | Photographers | 7 |
| Florists | 12 | Theater Owners | 6 |
| Funeral Directors | 29 | Fruit and Vegetable Dealers | 4 |
| Garages and Service Sta- tion Owners | 60 | Jewelers | 13 |

These figures seem to show that in these cities the tendency is to crowd the grocery field as compared with other

²⁷ These cities are Indianapolis, Jacksonville, Cleveland, Columbus, Winston-Salem, Houston, Dallas, and Atlanta.

types of business. There were seven hundred and eighty businesses of twenty types in eight cities. Four hundred and thirty-six of these were groceries and one hundred and thirty-nine were cleaning and pressing establishments. One reason for so many groceries is that the average Negro with a fairly good job and a little extra money, when wanting to put it to good use, thinks immediately of the grocery business. He believes that peoples always must eat; and, therefore, he thinks that a grocery store should never fail. The majority of these stores, however, do not have more than two hundred dollars worth of stock in them. A further reason for so many grocery stores is that the groceryman was once one of the most prosperous men in the group, and it is often true that if one makes a success at a thing nearly all the others will try it. The advent of chain stores will reduce the number of men in the grocery business and force those remaining to be more efficient.

The next largest number of so-called businesses are the cleaning and pressing shops. The majority of these are no more than unlicensed drinking places and gambling dens. Winston-Salem offers an exception to this rule. Morgan's Cleaning Plant is about the best equipped plant there, and it is situated in the very heart of the city. Atlanta, Georgia, and Columbia, South Carolina, also boast of similar establishments.

A considerable number of filling stations have been opened on account of automobile transportation and its demands. Many Negroes while working for white stations have conceived the idea that such promising enterprises among their own people will pay enormous sums, and for the most part they have succeeded. Others have entered this field merely as a matter of investment. There are some very representative stations throughout this country. Many of these men are handling the products of the most reputable refineries. Columbus, Ohio, has a chain of filling stations owned by Charles W. Bryant, a very prosperous wrecker and mover of houses.

The number of florists show an increase because of the high death rate of Negroes, and the increasing social activities of these people. The money spent by Negroes on flowers for funerals is alarming. Thus it seemed perfectly reasonable to thinking persons that if the money is to be thus used, it should be spent with Negroes, as in the case of the undertaker. Many of the most successful of these florists are women. One of the neatest shops in the country is operated in Indianapolis, Indiana, by Miss Dora Oma Atkins.

More important than this is the great scarcity of types of business so badly needed. Probably the most needed types of businesses are haberdasheries, dry goods stores, shoe stores, and up-to-date grocery stores. These stores are needed for several reasons: first, to give the Negro consumer better and fairer service; second, to conserve the resources of the group; and third, to absorb some of the idle labor of Negroes and furnish better opportunities for their high school and college graduates. Let us say just here that Negroes might have made more progress in the types of businesses mentioned, had it not been for an idea among the better educated that to operate a store was not commensurate with the education which they had received. There is now, however, a different trend of thought, and the business man is assuming his rightful place in the affairs of the group.

It is indeed gratifying to note the many new business ventures that Negroes are taking. Although the dry goods and clothing stores are but few, there has always been one somewhere; but dealers in furniture, pianos, florists, advertising novelties, automobile agencies, bond houses, and investment bankers are striking ventures. Columbia, South Carolina, and Atlanta, Georgia, actually have respectively a corporation dealing in furniture. Houston, Kansas City, Indianapolis, Louisville, Columbus, Cleveland, Washington, D.C., Atlanta, and Jacksonville, all claim the distinction of having at least one flower shop owned by Negroes; and more

than that, these places are truly representative of the modern flower shop. Nashville boasts of an advertising novelty house dealing in all types of modern business stimulants. Kansas City and Chicago are proud of automobile agencies owned and operated by Negroes. Negroes in Winston-Salem operate an unusually extensive bus line. New York has a bond house that handles some very respectable security issues.

Industry and manufacturing are beginning to draw the attention of Negroes. Kansas City has a soap factory; St. Louis a sausage establishment and a toilet articles plant; Indianapolis two garment factories, a concern making cosmetics, a cement blocks enterprise, and milk products company; and Louisville an ice and ice cream factory. Chicago is the home of chemical plants of several kinds, a sausage plant, and a therapeutic lamp concern. Memphis, Tennessee, Waycross, Georgia and five other cities have casket factories; Piqua, Ohio, and Washington D.C., have concerns making embalming fluids; Los Angeles has a furniture factory; and Jacksonville has a toothpowder establishment and two bottling works.

Not only do we have factories, but among the minor merchants we find an increasing number of hucksters, peddlers and men operating confectionery stands. Other fields being entered by Negroes are jewelry, watchmaking, and optometry. Here and there we can find some very good jewelry shops. With the advent of the Negro into the more highly competitive fields, the demands will be greater, and, therefore, the people may expect to see much better plants and more efficient men operating them.

Strange to say, more than ninety per cent of the Negroes in these businesses are individual in form rather than co-operative. This means that the businesses will hardly go beyond the life of the men who started them. It means again that the businesses can never hope to expand as they should; and again the larger syndicates will soon push them out because of their greater buying power and efficiency. It spells inefficiency in the largest measure, because it is

utterly impossible for one man to perform all of the duties of modern business effectually. Finally, as long as Negroes remain individualists so long will they remain weak and helpless in business. In manufacturing it is largely necessary to have a corporate form because of the larger amounts of capital involved and also because of the great risk it would bring to individuals.

As yet, moreover, our retailers are largely of the small shop-keeper type, with not more than five hundred or one thousand dollars invested. The grocery business in Columbus, Savannah, Pensacola, Jacksonville, Winston-Salem, Nashville, Little Rock, Oklahoma City, Boley, Tulsa, Okmulgee, and the Kansas Cities proves the exception. In these cities the capital thus invested is far above the average for most cities and the proportion of return is much beyond this level. One grocery firm in one of the above mentioned cities is doing an average of one hundred thousand or more dollars a year with an annual net of about thirty-three thousand. The reason for the successes of these businesses in the cities named seems to be in the co-operative spirit of the businesses in these communities. The Negro public seems to be growing in appreciation of successful enterprises of their own.

This does not say, however, that other cities would not be just as appreciative of such business, but the people are not accustomed to dealing with each other and, therefore, do not think before buying. Then in some businesses of this type there were periods when they flourished in cities not named here, but because they have failed the people have lost the habit of trading with their own merchants. In some cities, too, other reasons for the success of the grocery business is due to the type of men operating them. These men are honest, giving good prices and are willing to be taught. They even attempt to co-operate in buying and advertising in Jacksonville, Winston-Salem, Little Rock, Tulsa, and Kansas City. Because of these efforts these cities boast of better and more successful groceries than is the average of

the Negro population in many cities. If the business is other than a grocery the size of it is about the same of the average white business of a similar kind. Negroes who enter the haberdashery, department store, dry goods and jewelry store business must measure up to the standard to make at least a creditable showing.

Having considered the kinds of businesses entered by our people, the types that are most numerous and most profitable and the sizes of them, we wish to emphasize a thing that we think stands out quite clearly in our enterprises—sectional difference due to the habits and customs of our people and environmental influences of the various sections of the country. For our purposes, we have divided the country into these sections: North and East, Southeast, South and Southwest, West and Midwest.²⁸

The extreme Northeast has but little real business among Negroes. Those businesses that do exist are characterized by the same struggle that Negroes of that section face. The capital requirements of businesses in that section are so great that the average Negro concern finds itself handicapped and unable to make a creditable showing. Very little attempt is made to enter the retail business. In some sections of the North it is thought by Negroes, that should they enter business it will invite segregation, and, therefore, they do not encourage such movements.

The Southeastern section beginning at the District of Columbia and Virginia, and going through the Carolinas, Georgia, and Florida shows a different attitude. This section gave Negro business its greatest impetus, even prior to the Civil War. Washington was the home of the first bank. Richmond, Atlanta, and now Durham are claiming for themselves the title of Negro Business Capital of America. Never since the days of their freedom have these people been without some business of their own. Thus the

²⁸ It is interesting to note that in the South and Southwest, Negro businesses are found in the general business centers, while it is usual in the other sections to find separate business centers for Negroes.

spirit of Negro business is already planted, and it only needs cultivation. It has always been relatively easy to organize there co-operative enterprises of some kind.

Richmond is probably the home of more co-operative schemes than any city in the country. The states of Georgia and Florida are well represented in businesses of all types. Because of the favorable attitude towards the enterprise of the Negro in this section, the retail merchant who is well prepared to supply the needs of the people is well received and is a very proud individual. He enjoys the support of the church, school, and home. Yet we cannot attribute all of this activity to the direct action of the Negro. Some of it is due to the great amount of oppression that Negroes have had to undergo in these sections, and, therefore, in an effort to avoid any contact with whites they have attempted to build their own enterprises in so far as it is practical.

What is true of the Southeast is largely true of the South and Southwest. These sections include the States of Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Missouri, Kansas, and Texas. Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, Mississippi, and Oklahoma are the leaders in these sections. For almost in every corner of them is found some type of business. However, in Missouri, Kansas, and Texas, business is scattered because the Negro population is dispersed and is not as large proportionately as the Negro population of the extreme Southern States. Thus business activity is confined to the centers, in those States, where there is a large Negro population. In Texas, there are Houston, Waco, Dallas, Austin, and San Antonio. In Kansas, there is Kansas City; and in Missouri, St. Louis and Kansas City.

The spirit for Negro business in certain Texas cities has not been just as it should have been until recently. School teachers, preachers, physicians, lawyers, and other professional people have actually decried it in making contacts in their line of work. Negro teachers actually have refused to teach about prominent characters in the history of

the Negro for fear of the loss of their jobs. Thus we find in this state for the most part that the so-called leaders are bought out. Therefore, Negro business in these towns has had a hard life, and only just now does it seem that there is coming a turn in the thought of the Negro public itself in favor of its own enterprises.

The Midwest, including Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Michigan, has seen an unprecedented development in favor of Negro businesses due to the large number of migrants from the South, who carried with them the desire to trade and be with their own people. Thus Chicago today vies with Durham for supremacy, and most likely surpasses Durham as the Capital of Negro Business. Indianapolis is developing a good many industries. Columbus is the home of some splendid drug stores and a ladies' shoppe. Cincinnati has a small chain of drug stores. Cleveland also has a chain of drug stores as well as several that are individually owned, and along with this is the unusual, a piano store. May it be said that the business building in the Midwest section among Negroes seems to be the soundest in the country? Young men are seeing actual needs and are trying to prepare themselves to supply them. Then the Midwestern Negro does not seem afraid of the real work and sacrifice required in building a business. The Western Negro is also seeing the need of co-operation in the interest of his people, and is this very day attempting to do something in the way of group enterprise.

VI. SOME OBSERVATIONS

Having pointed out the sectional differences in business found among Negroes, we wish now to speak of the character, personality, and training of the men in the businesses. From our observations and contact with the Negro trader we have found him to be a very honest fellow. The outstanding business men among Negroes have been drawn from the exceptional self-made men, the professional class, or secret society leaders, all of whom have taken up busi-

ness as an avocation, although most of these have tended to yield their places to more practical promoters. The smaller dealers, however, have been mainly the trusted employees of some firm before entering business for themselves and, therefore, have carried their honesty into business dealings with their fellows. In many cases, however, their personalities are nil, being very grouchy to their trade. It is this fact that causes many people to stay away from the average Negro store. It seems that Negro merchants have yet to learn the value of politeness and cheer. They carry all of their disappointments and family life into the business.

Much of this, however, is due to the training of these men. The Negro merchant has been for the most part a thrifty young man who had a desire to enter business for himself but who had little formal education. The Negro public, being rather blind to the good he was doing for the community has not encouraged him, and has prophesied his failure. The young doctor, lawyer, and dentist have been encouraged and assisted, and therefore, have succeeded much faster. The young merchant sees this favoritism and is, therefore, grouchy with those who have not encouraged and assisted him.

The Negro merchant faces many problems. These may be summarized as follows: co-operation, capital, credit, buying power, labor, and the need of more intelligent management. The Negro merchants must secure the co-operation of the buying public among Negroes if they expect to exist. The Negro public should form the base of the Negro merchant's market. The great problem of this merchant, then, is how best to get his share of this market. Then, too, there should be co-operation between fellow merchants that each may benefit by the experience of the other, that they may pool their interests in buying and advertising as is necessitated by the interdependence of business throughout the world. The lack of capital, limited credit, and buying power hamper our merchants seriously, but this is due

sometimes to the fact that they do not make proper use of credit associations and credit ratings and, therefore, cannot present themselves in as bright light for recommendations and security as they actually could if proper attention were directed to these things. They must, therefore, borrow at a handicap. Negroes pay about two per cent more for money than white business men on ordinary loans, about fourteen per cent for first mortgage loans, and much more for second mortgages.²⁹ On account of the lack of capital Negro dealers cannot make the display incident to the business they operate, and because of limited credit they are not able to obtain many things that the trade requires. With such unusually low buying power they are not able to compete in prices.

The labor problem of the Negro merchant is equally taxing. It is indeed truly hard to find men who are willing to work and give their best to the business. The business of selling is based largely on percentages, but the average Negro employee loathes the word commission or percentage. He prefers to work for a smaller salary than to take a large commission. The fact seems to be that he hates work. There is but little trained help at hand, and those that are prepared are so unreasonable in their demands that the usual small business is unable to secure their services. Finally there is the great problem of labor turnover which is a constant problem to the merchant. He must continually train and retrain help.

This presents a most difficult problem for Negro business today. The requirements for the conduct of a business now are higher than they were a generation ago. One cannot invest a few dollars at almost any stand and make a

²⁹ The average critic will say this is not true. The facts, however, support this statement. For example the Negro buying a home borrows \$3,000 from a white bank which he agrees to pay back in monthly notes at seven per cent interest. The bank usually charges him a bonus of two per cent for making the loan and charges him also interest on the whole \$3,000 for the five or six years required to complete the payment of the whole. This about doubles the cost of the money.

fortune by luck. Business must be approached from the scientific point of view. Yet, the chances for Negroes to secure the required business training have grown less because of the disinclination of white business houses to take them into their establishments to learn their technique. Such a thing would seem to multiply the competitors of white merchants, and increasing race prejudice in some quarters may account for this attitude. In the meantime, the meagre facilities for the education of the Negro along practical lines have not been adequate to supply the personnel necessary. The average Negro in business, therefore, does not know how to figure out production according to cost accounting, cannot gauge business cycles, does not know how to estimate markets, and is unable to forecast possible changes. He does not keep up with the times by studying the reports and important transactions in the business world, and may, therefore, fail before he knows it. Some schools are training Negroes in the most approved methods of business as is evidenced by the change in the appearance of the establishments where such graduates have entered the field.

At the same time, too, the Negro in business is faced with the difficulty of dealing with people who have been so influenced by the procedure of churches and lodges that they require Negro business men to deal with them on the basis of friendship rather than according to strict up-to-date methods. In the case of refusal of Negro business men to give consideration to patrons because of their long connections with fraternities and religious establishments he, of course, may lose their support and invite their antagonism. On the other hand, however, it must be admitted that a large number of Negro business enterprises have been developed because they have had the support of churches and lodges.

The Negro business man is further handicapped by the fact that in addition to these difficulties he must still sell to people who have not as much income as those who pur-

chase from white businesses, and the trade unions are eliminating Negroes from higher pursuits so as to reduce rather than increase their income. Besides, because of installment buying from large business establishments, the Negro's purchasing power for the small Negro business in the community is further diminished, for such buying costs from fifty to a hundred per cent more than cash purchases. In addition, too, the Negro merchant must face a racial handicap in having most whites refusing to patronize him because of his color while failing at the same time to get the trade of his own people who may be a little jealous of his progress or high position or who cannot overcome thinking that the white merchant can give him the most for the least money.

J. H. HARMON, JR.

THE NEGRO IN BANKING

I. INTRODUCTION

Any comprehensive treatise on the Negro in Banking in the United States of necessity will take into account the increasing number of "free persons of color" who were developing along commendable lines from 1790 to 1860. Conflicting opinions as to the real economic status of these people during this period are found in the sources; but dispassionate historians are agreed on the point that many of the "free persons of color" were engaged in occupations which required individual ability and skill; that as a result of their labors, moreover, wealth was being accumulated by a few, and many others were acquiring and developing habits of industry and thrift.¹ Evidently they realized from the beginning that real progress could be made only by improving their economic condition. And thus they were found engaged in every necessary line of work, entering the trades and becoming successful in business.

The sources show that as early as 1833, Negroes in various parts of the United States had accumulated enough wealth to make investments not only in United States securities, but also to make personal loans to the less thrifty class of workers. Thomy Lafon, for instance, who had made money in the dry goods business in New Orleans "loaned his money at advantageous rates of interest," and his business was so profitable that at his death he left an unusual estate valued at \$413,000.² Cyprian Ricaud, another wealthy Negro of this city, did a profitable real estate and brokerage business.³ For this community, the census of 1850 also re-

¹ Woodson's *The Negro in our History*, Chapter XIV, pp. 243-258; Wesley's *Negro Labor in the United States*, pp. 34-111.

² *The Negro in Business and the Professions*, Vol. CXXXX, p. 141, of *The Annals American Academy of Political and Social Science*.

³ *National Freedmen*, Vol. I, September, 1865, pp. 266-267.

ports that eight mulattoes were engaged in the brokerage business.

These pioneers were generally regarded as skillful traders in money—business men of unusual ability. They inspired confidence to the extent that their less thrifty fellowmen had an abiding faith in their business judgment and entrusted their earnings to the safekeeping of these successful money lenders. Banking, then, among Negroes, crude as it may have been, had its beginning with the pioneers who not only loaned their own money but also the savings of their fellowmen, which were entrusted to their care.

A few Negroes of the North were doing business along similar lines. One Peter Vandyke,⁴ of New York, who was reputed to be worth \$50,000 before the Civil War, loaned a part of his wealth at interest to his less thrifty fellowmen. Stephen Smith⁵ of Columbia, Pennsylvania, who had accumulated wealth of \$500,000, also invested and loaned funds at a profit.

“Free Persons of Color” in other communities were also pioneering in the private banking field. In fact, in the sources is found convincing evidence that many of these people were successful capitalists, brokers, business men, and clerks before and after the Civil War.⁶ None of these men, however, were engaged exclusively in the private banking business. Their business operations were many and varied—extending from the dry goods or grocery business to the lending and safekeeping of funds entrusted to them. And so we soon found them unable to serve adequately the many pressing needs of the 434,495 “free persons of color” who were in the United States in 1850.⁷

⁴ *National Freedmen*, Vol. I, September, 1865, pp. 266-267.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Senate Executive Documents No. 27*, 39th Congress, 1st session, pp. 120-121.

⁷ Woodson's *The Negro in our History*, p. 245.

II. MUTUAL AND COOPERATIVE ATTEMPTS OF NEGROES TO ESTABLISH SAVINGS INSTITUTIONS

As Negroes increased in number and importance, discussions concerning their general economic improvement followed in white as well as in their own circles. As early as 1851, a convention⁸ was assembled in New York for the purpose of working out plans for improving the Negroes' economic status. At one of the sessions was made the report that Negroes had in the banks of Wall Street between \$40,000 and \$50,000 in savings. There were friends among the whites as well as the leaders in thought among the Negroes who believed that the economic condition of the "free persons of color" would improve by encouraging them not only to be thrifty but also to establish a savings institution of their own. To that end a recommendation was made in this convention that a "mutual savings bank be established among Negroes to encourage savings and thrift."

Much interest in the establishment of a banking institution was also evinced in Cincinnati. Many of the Negroes of this city had not only accumulated wealth and purchased property, but also boasted of the fact that they had Negroes who were working as bookkeepers and bank tellers in reputable business establishments.⁹ Along the Ohio River are found many instances of free Negroes who had a large amount of cash capital with which to enter any profitable business. Some of them made personal loans to their fellowmen and attracted much attention to and interest in the widespread determination of Negroes to get ahead economically. They, too, were encouraged to save—to be thrifty and to establish a savings institution as a depository for their cash capital.

In Philadelphia, too, it was reported that Negroes had \$28,366 in white banks as early as 1855. Many persons of both races also thought that a savings institution ought to be

⁸ *New York Tribune*, March 20, 1851.

⁹ Clarke's *Conditions of the Free Colored People in the United States*; *Christian Examiner*, March, 1859, pp. 246-265; Woodson's *Negroes of Cincinnati Prior to Civil War*, pp. 9-21; Delaney's *Condition of the Colored People in the United States*, p. 92.

established in that city for their general economic improvement.¹⁰ Still other reports were made in other large communities which had practically the same objective. Especially was this true when labor or political conventions were called. Usually some session was given over to a discussion of the economic status of Negroes and the "ways and means" of improving their condition. These discussions were indulged in at length notwithstanding the fact that the political rights of Negroes—free men and slaves—were being questioned, debated, and bitterly fought over by the pro-slavery and anti-slavery factions.

With the Civil War impending and the question of continued slavery or freedom for the Negro occupying the thought and time of the people, little more is recorded in the sources concerning the economic improvement of the Negro until 1864. During this time some slaves working at approved trades and the free people who were engaged in practically every line of endeavor diligently applied themselves to their work from which labor they were able to save a part of their earnings. The economic status of these people, however, again forced its attention to the front when in 1856 was made the report that the "free persons of color" had \$600,000 deposited in savings fund institutions in New York.¹¹ Another proposal, then, was made to a group of persons in that city to establish a savings bank for Negroes. Similar reports were made to interested friends of the Negro in other large centers. In short, organized banking for the safekeeping of money which Negroes were saving seemed almost the necessary evolution of the conditions of that time. To say the least, some kind of depository would be well supported by the increasingly large number of Negroes who were becoming more thrifty as time passed.

Such prosperous conditions could not generally be ascribed to the Negroes who were enslaved. Only a few instances can be found of enslaved Negroes who advanced eco-

¹⁰ Bacon's *Statistics of Colored People of Philadelphia*, pp. 15-16.

¹¹ *African Repository*, January, 1856, Vol. XXXI, p. 8.

nomically beyond the general slave status. Habits of thrift and industry are not acquired or developed under the chains of slavery. Thrown out as he was into a highly organized economic society—poor and still dependent—the freedman in 1865 had enjoyed no opportunity for self development and had developed little if any sense of responsibility.

Of him, Frederick Douglass wrote,¹² “he had neither money, property nor friends—he was turned loose naked, hungry and destitute.” In other words, the strong economic chain between master and slave had not been broken by the stroke of Lincoln’s pen. Time alone breaks such chains. The freedman, moreover, was still furnished food, clothing and many other necessities of life by his former master. The interdependent relationship between master and slave remained generally intact. The deplorable condition of the freedman constrained welfare associations and other organized groups to lend assistance.

Another factor contributing to the general shiftlessness of the freedmen soon after the war was the erroneous impression which had rapidly spread that the government was giving to each head of a family of freedmen “forty acres and a mule.” The freedmen heard that this gift was being made for the purpose of improving their economic condition. Beneficence of this kind, however, does not stimulate fine traits of character such as industry, thrift, and reliance.

III EFFORTS OF MILITARY OFFICIALS TO ESTABLISH BANKS FOR NEGROES

There were, nevertheless, friends of the Negro high in military and other official circles, who were vitally interested in the general social and political advancement of the freedmen. They had established a “Department of Negro Affairs” during the period of the War, out of which was organized the Freedmen’s Bureau in 1865. Although this bureau exercised control over most matters pertaining to the freedmen, many of these officials and other Northern sympa-

¹² Douglass, *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*, p. 459.

thizers of Negroes were seriously interested in their economic improvement.

In Massachusetts, some of these white friends persuaded the state authorities to permit the "allotment system" which had been used in white regiments to be put in operation in the regiments which were manned by Negroes. This system permitted a soldier to allot a certain portion of his army pay¹³ to a relative or to permit the government to save a part of his pay as long as he was in the army. In this way, many of the Negro soldiers were able to save considerable amounts of cash. This "allotment system," which was being tried in practically every regiment, proved especially helpful in the establishment of the first bank for Negroes.

In 1864, General N. P. Banks, who was primarily interested in making the free workers of New Orleans thrifty and reliable, organized the "Free Labor Bank." This institution was made easy by the large number of "free persons of color" who even before the war had accumulated wealth and property in New Orleans. The Negro soldiers who were stationed near New Orleans were thus given an opportunity and encouraged to save their earnings in an institution which was organized primarily for them. In this bank, according to an authoritative report, one Negro quarter called "Rost Host Colony"¹⁴ deposited \$21,605.83. This deposit served as a substantial encouragement not only to the officials but also to the depositors of the bank. Little more about the operations of the first bank for Negroes is found in the sources, however, other than the fact that it was later absorbed by the more successful efforts of another army official in another city. Such a beginning, nevertheless, inspired the Negroes to work diligently and save regularly in order to safeguard their economic progress.

In the meantime, military savings banks were established at Beaufort, South Carolina, and Norfolk, Virginia—two

¹³ *Senate Reports No. 440, 46th Congress, 2nd session, 1880; Freedmen's Savings and Trust Company, 1872.*

¹⁴ *Howard's Reminiscences; Banks's Emancipated Labor in Louisiana, New York Times, February 11, 1864.*

strategic army posts where Negro soldiers were assembled in large numbers. The same opportunities which were granted Negro soldiers at other posts were extended to the soldiers in these two cities. Implicit confidence had been instilled in these military savings banks. In substantiation of this, it was reported that the soldiers at Beaufort had \$200,000 deposited in this bank at the end of the war. Some of this, as was the case with large sums of money in other military savings banks, was unclaimed at the close of the war.¹⁵

These efforts were so successful that other government officials attempted to establish similar institutions which would serve the emancipated Negroes during peace time. To this end, one A. M. Sperry, paymaster in the army, conceived the plan of using the unclaimed deposits of soldiers in military banks to found a savings institution. Concerning this effort Bruce¹⁶ reports that it is not definitely known whether Sperry planned to solicit deposits from Negroes who were not still in the army. Still later, one John W. Alvord, another army official, planned the establishment of a bank which would merge the efforts of Sperry with his own in an incorporated bank for Negroes. For this purpose, some of the foremost men of the United States were called together January 27, 1865, to discuss the advisability of prevailing upon Congress to incorporate a bank for the economic improvement of the freedmen.

IV. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FREEDMEN'S SAVINGS BANK AND TRUST COMPANY

Such a bank seemed to these leaders both necessary and opportune. Thus, we find the plans for the incorporation of the Freedmen's Savings Bank and Trust Company approved by Congress. It is reported that when Lincoln

¹⁵ *Douglass Report in House Report No. 502*, 44th Congress, 1st session, 1876; *Douglass, Life and Times*, p. 487.

¹⁶ *Bruce's Report*, p. 246, *Senate Misc. Doc. No. 88*, 43rd Congress, 2nd session.

signed this act he said:¹⁷ "This bank is just what the freedmen need." Section V of the Act of Incorporation of the Freedmen's Bank stated that "the general business and object of the corporation hereby created shall be to receive on deposit such sums of money as may from time to time be offered, therefor by or on behalf of persons heretofore held in slavery in the United States or their descendants and to invest the same in stocks, bonds, treasury notes and other securities of the United States."

Here we find a bank organized, sponsored and operated for Negroes with governmental aid. At first it adhered to safe and sound banking principles. Two-thirds of the deposits, for instance, would be invested in securities of the United States while the other one-third would be held on deposit or otherwise as an "available fund" for current needs. Another safe rule was that officers, trustees and employees would not be permitted to borrow from the bank. Still another was the requirement that the books of the bank would be always open for inspection by representatives of Congress. This last named requirement was substantially the same as a periodical audit, as is the custom in banks today.

Some of the most prominent men of the time were listed as incorporators.¹⁸ Concerning these men Douglass said that "some did not give their consent to the use of their names." Nevertheless, the fact that men of unquestionable character and unusual ability were advertised as incorporators together with the report that the United States Government protected the savings which were deposited inspired confidence and made easy the successful organization of the Freedmen's Savings Bank and Trust Company.¹⁹

¹⁷ *Congressional Globe*, 38th Congress, 2nd session, Part II, p. 1403; Fleming's *Freedmen's Savings and Trust Company*; Fleming's *Documentary History of Reconstruction*, I, 319.

¹⁸ Fleming's *Freedmen's Savings Bank and Trust Co.*, p. 131, Appendix.

¹⁹ The Passbooks had the following printed in them: "The government of the United States has made this bank perfectly safe."

Much discussion was rife in Congress about limiting the territory in which the bank would operate. The promoters, especially Alvord and his associates, were determined to establish branches in most of the large cities of the United States. Others were equally determined to confine the business to the District of Columbia. At any rate, the following branches were established.²⁰

| | |
|--------------------|-------------------|
| Atlanta, Ga. | Natchez, Miss. |
| Augusta, Ga. | Nashville, Tenn. |
| Baltimore, Md. | New Bern, N.C. |
| Beaufort, S.C. | New Orleans, La. |
| Charleston, S.C. | New York City |
| Chattanooga, Tenn. | Norfolk, Va. |
| Columbus, Miss. | Philadelphia, Pa. |
| Columbia, Tenn. | Raleigh, N.C. |
| Huntsville, Ala. | Richmond, Va. |
| Jacksonville, Fla. | Savannah, Ga. |
| Lexington, Ky. | Shreveport, La. |
| Little Rock, Ark. | Alexandria, La. |
| Louisville, Ky. | St. Louis, Mo. |
| Lynchburg, Va. | Tallahassee, Fla. |
| Macon, Ga. | Vicksburg, Miss. |
| Memphis, Tenn. | Washington, D.C. |
| Mobile, Ala. | Wilmington, N.C. |
| Montgomery, Ala. | |

The first officers of the Freedmen's Bank were William A. Booth, president, and John W. Alvord, corresponding secretary. Later, however, Alvord, who was unquestionably the moving spirit within the bank, became the president. One D. L. Eaton, who also became an important figure in the bank, served as actuary. Under this administration the bank prospered. New York was selected as headquarters for the institution. This seemed to have been a strategic move for much of the savings of Negroes in New York was quickly deposited in this bank. Soon thereafter the efforts of army officers to continue the military savings banks were merged

²⁰ The aim was to cover the whole area of Negro population.

with the attempts of Alvord and Sperry to establish branches in these same communities. In short, success attended all of their efforts.

Several factors, however, tended to interrupt the progress which was being made from 1865 to 1870. They were both internal and external. First of all, a mammoth building costing \$260,000, was bought out of the savings which in the beginning had been retained as a reserve fund. Second, with the amendment to the charter,²¹ the officers of the branches who strenuously objected to sending the savings of depositors to be invested in Washington, were later permitted to invest most of the "available funds" in real estate in their own communities. This change permitted much unwise speculation in real estate. More than \$160,000 of this reserve was unwisely invested by the various branches. Third, the close connection between the Freedmen's Bureau officials who were growing in disfavor and the Bank Trustees worked a hardship on the bank.

The success of the bank up to this point was due mainly to the non-speculative type of business engaged in and the urgent need for such an institution on the part of Negroes. Very few Negroes, however, served as officials of the bank during the first three years of its organization. This was due to the fact that few, if any, Negroes had enough banking training and experience to qualify them as officers. A few Negroes, however, were employed as tellers and clerks. Gross irregularities together with wild speculative schemes fostered by various inside rings and cliques completely changed the color of affairs.

In the Freedmen's Bank at that time there were 61,131 depositors, a few of whom were white. It was rated as excellent by banking authorities. The total business done by this institution is summed up in the table below:²²

²¹ Fleming's *Freedmen's Savings Bank and Trust Co.*, p. 136. In 1870 an amendment to the charter was secured by which one-half of the funds subject to investment might at discretion of trustees be invested in bonds and notes secured by mortgage on real estate and double the value of the loan.

²² *House Misc., Doc. No. 16, 43rd Congress, 2nd session*, p. 61.

AMOUNT OF DEPOSITS AT THE BRANCHES

January 24, 1874

| <i>Branches</i> | <i>Deposits</i> | <i>Branches</i> | <i>Deposits</i> |
|------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| Alexandria, Va..... | \$ 21,584 | Natchez, Miss..... | \$ 22,195 |
| Atlanta, Ga..... | 28,404 | Nashville, Tenn..... | 78,525 |
| Augusta, Ga..... | 96,882 | New Bern, N.C..... | 40,621 |
| Baltimore, Md..... | 303,947 | New Orleans, La..... | 240,006 |
| Beaufort, S.C..... | 55,592 | New York, N.Y..... | 344,071 |
| Charleston, S.C..... | 255,345 | Norfolk, Va..... | 126,337 |
| Columbus, Miss..... | 18,857 | Philadelphia, Pa..... | 84,657 |
| Columbia, Tenn..... | 19,823 | Raleigh, N.C..... | 26,703 |
| Huntsville, Ala..... | 35,963 | Richmond, Va..... | 166,000 |
| Jacksonville, Fla..... | 22,022 | Savannah, Ga..... | 153,425 |
| Lexington, Ky..... | 34,193 | Shreveport, La..... | 30,312 |
| Little Rock, Ark..... | 17,728 | Saint Louis, Mo..... | 58,397 |
| Louisville, Ky..... | 137,094 | Tallahassee, Fla..... | 40,207 |
| Lynchburg, Va..... | 19,967 | Vicksburg, Miss..... | 114,348 |
| Macon, Ga..... | 54,342 | Washington, D.C..... | 384,789 |
| Memphis, Tenn..... | 96,755 | Wilmington, N.C..... | 45,223 |
| Mobile, Ala..... | 95,144 | | |
| Montgomery, Ala..... | 29,743 | Total | \$3,299,201 |

As Negroes gained training and experience, and after the many and irregular schemes of white officials had wrecked the assets of the bank, Negroes were engaged in larger numbers as employees and given positions of trust on the board of directors and in official and advisory capacities. One "Daddy" Wilson who later became cashier at Washington was used and misused by whites as a figurehead. He served as a fine "buffer" for the whites to loot the bank. One Mr. Vandenbrung, for instance, borrowed \$30,000 on the verbal endorsement of the District of Columbia "boss." Jay Cooke and Company, financiers, borrowed \$500,000 at five per cent interest while depositors in this same institution were paid 6 per cent interest on savings. Such banking practices are almost incredible, but authoritative sources record even grosser irregularities in this bank.

Its growth had been especially rapid, too rapid, moreover, for the corrupt and unprincipled white officials to develop it into a sound financial institution. One-half of the branches which were established were unprofitably operated, and yet many more could have been set up. Inefficient ac-

counting with little or no check up was followed by misappropriation of funds, and consequent withdrawal of the honest and competent officials. Unwise loans and the exorbitant 6 per cent interest which was paid on savings were also contributing causes to the failure of the bank. As one clerk put it, "when the cash balanced, all of us went out to celebrate the event."²³ There were, of course, many other causes but the most obvious cause was the audaciously planned schemes of the officers to fill their own pockets, to feather the nests of their business associates and friends who had formed cliques, rings and other combines for selfish gains.

And what is most lamentable is the fact that only a few of those who embezzled and defrauded the one time liquid assets of this bank were ever prosecuted. In fact, the defalcations were so numerous and widespread that it was difficult to secure a conviction in any court. Soon the so-called "available fund" as the actuary put it, "became unavailable."²⁴ With loans frozen, real estate values still declining and the remaining money being used for political purposes confidence was soon destroyed. Runs on the deposits and ultimate insolvency naturally followed.

Thus we see a wrecked institution, the mammoth failure of the Freedmen's Bank, which at first did a splendid work. White officials then withdrew in larger numbers. The leaders among Negroes were then called to save the lost institution. Even the work of a financial genius could have availed little at this time. In March, 1874, Frederick Douglass, untrained for such a task, was made President. He admitted he had no banking experience but accepted because he thought that his influence would tend to restore confidence. Then, too, he was assured by the outgoing officers that the bank was in sound financial condition. He soon learned, however, that the bank could not be put back on a paying basis. When, however, he learned the true condition of af-

²³ Fleming's *Freedmen's Savings Bank and Trust Company*, p. 57.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

fairs, he reported the matter to the Chairman of Senate Committee on Finance and expressed also his regret that he had been connected in an official way with the bank. Nearly three million dollars in deposits were involved in this failure.

Commissioners were appointed by Congress, therefore, to liquidate affairs and to establish a new organization. The bank officially closed June 28, 1874. John A. J. Creswell, R. H. Leipold, and Robert Purvis were assigned²⁵ the task of straightening out affairs. Subsequent disagreements among the commissioners and difficulties encountered in closing out the accounts without pass books made their task harder. Their work, however, resulted in the depositors getting back 40 per cent of their savings.²⁶

After the commissioners had gone as far as circumstances permitted, the Comptroller of Currency was appointed by Congress to close out the work not yet done. He placed subsequent collections in the United States Treasury at interest with authority to pay those depositors who presented proper credentials. In his statement of 1900, according to report, 62 per cent, or \$1,638,259.49 of the total amount on deposit when the bank failed, had been paid.

Attempts have been made by various administrations to dispose of the money unclaimed by depositors, but nothing definite has been accomplished. As late as 1928 a group of influential citizens of Washington under the leadership of Garnet C. Wilkinson petitioned government authorities to expend this money in erecting a monument to Negroes, but to little avail.²⁷

Summing it up, we must say it was a colossal attempt and colossal failure, a costly experience not only for the Negro leaders who were inefficient and untrained, but more especially for the depositors, some of whom never received, either from ignorance, misfortune or death, the 62 per cent which has been repaid. Two investigations were

²⁵ Fleming's *Freedmen's Savings Bank and Trust Company*, p. 101.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

²⁷ Interview with Garnet C. Wilkinson, Oct. 24, 1928.

started, one by the Douglass Committee in 1876 and the other by the Bruce Committee in 1880, to lay the real facts before Congress. If they fulfilled no other mission, they established the fact that the United States Government, partly responsible for the Negroes' faith in the Freedmen's Bank, had an equal responsibility in seeing to it that the depositors would not suffer actual losses at the expense of the government to which they owed allegiance.

V. EFFORTS OF NEGROES TO ESTABLISH PRIVATE BANKS

This gigantic failure generally dampened the ardor and desire of Negroes to invest their savings anywhere. Their confidence in the United States Government as well as in the white and Negro leaders also waned. This attempt at a bank had been so monstrous and so widespread that few, if any, private groups attempted an organization from 1864 to 1874. More than a decade passed after the closing of this bank before confidence was even partly restored.

Nevertheless, the Capitol Savings Bank of Washington, D.C., was organized on October 17, 1888. This, the sources show, was the first private and distinct bank opened and operated for business by Negroes in the United States. It began with a capital of \$6,000, which was subsequently increased to \$50,000 during the sixteen years of its existence. Among the prominent promoters and directors were Robert H. Terrell, Whitfield McKinley, W. S. Montgomery, John A. Pierre, J. R. Wilder, and Henry Baker. John R. Lynch once served it as president, Douglass B. McCary as cashier, Berkeley Waller as bookkeeper, Robert Douglass as teller, and Lemuel Bailey as treasurer.²⁸

This institution weathered the storm of the panic of 1893 and did a thriving commercial banking business for several years. It was a commendable start, serving the financial needs of the people and making with its banking quarters on F Street a fine impression on the many people who looked to Washington as the mecca of Negro finance and ed-

²⁸ Interview with R. H. Rutherford, February 20, 1929.

ucation. Little more can be found in the sources about this bank. Then, too, some persons who were closely associated with this institution are loathe to assign the real causes for the failure of this bank. Nevertheless, the consensus of opinion is that there were three main reasons why this bank failed in 1904: Long time and unprofitable commercial loans, bringing about frozen assets; financing speculative schemes of officers; but mainly the misappropriation and looting by one of the high officials.

The Alabama Penny Savings Bank, of Birmingham, is said to be the second private and distinct bank owned and operated by Negroes. It came into being by the earnest work of B. H. Hudson, a successful groceryman and school teacher and the farsight of W. R. Pettiford, a progressive Baptist clergyman, both of Birmingham. On October 15, 1890, these two pioneers, working with N. B. Young, Sr., Peter F. Clarke, Arthur H. Parker, Oliver J. Diffay and T. W. Walker, organized the first bank by Negroes in the heart of the South. The large number of Negroes who were working in this industrial center loyally supported the efforts of these well-thought-of promoters. During the operations of the bank they entrusted more than \$200,000 to the safe-keeping of these officials. More than 10,000 persons were prevailed upon to make deposits.

Under the guiding influence of its first president, W. R. Pettiford, this bank prospered and expanded. It bought a building worth \$150,000 or more, declared several dividends, and established three branch banks. The Montgomery branch was headed by V. H. Tulane, the Selma Branch by B. H. Hudson, and the Anniston branch by W. W. Hadnott. This expansion, however, did not prove to be good for the parent organization. In fairness, however, it ought to be said that the Montgomery bank was always very profitably operated.

Later, plans were made for the merging of this bank with one promoted by U. G. Mason, of Birmingham, whose institution had not been as soundly operated. Still later, the in-

stitution suffered the loss of its first president and the moving spirit within the organization, W. R. Pettiford, by whose untiring efforts the bank had become a factor in this industrial community. In addition, several ministers had prevailed upon the bank officials to grant long time church loans to their congregations.

Possibly the immediate cause for the failure of this bank, however, was the spreading of a rumor that Burton Hudson, a teller and son of B. H. Hudson, who succeeded the late president, was short in his accounts. This report spread about a week before Christmas of 1915, just prior to the paying of \$35,000 of Christmas funds to depositors. "When this information leaked out, although his father made good the shortage, and Burton was removed from the cage," said N. B. Young, Sr.,²⁹ "a run was started which could not be stopped." The depositors had been accustomed to Burton's being in his cage. His absence to them clearly substantiated the report that the bank was in financial straits. Steiner Brothers, fiscal agents, not only for this institution but also for the First National Bank (white) were called upon for assistance. Both institutions needed financial aid. The First National's need was met. The Alabama Penny Savings Bank was left in financial difficulties. And thus it was necessary to liquidate and to sell the \$150,000 building to the Knights of Pythias for \$70,000. Peter F. Clarke was engaged to close out affairs.

Concerning this Bank, N. B. Young, Sr., also said, "It was an honest effort to establish a bank in the very heart of the South. The chief officers were men without reproach. W. R. Pettiford and B. H. Hudson were men with characters as clean as a hound's tooth. The bank went into liquidation based on a rumor at Christmas time. The assets at the close were frozen primarily because of the long time loans to churches, the merger with the sister bank, and the too rapid expansion of branches. The death of Pettiford,

²⁹ Interview, February 20, 1929—St. Louis.

unquestionably a man of vision, was also a contributing factor."⁸⁰

A year after the organization of the Birmingham bank, we find in Chattanooga, Tennessee, the organization of the Mutual Bank and Trust Company. The moving forces in this effort were Squire White and a Mr. Willis. It did not get very far, nor did it develop into a serviceable institution mainly on account of the narrow and selfish plans of Mr. Willis, who built for himself and family a mansion comparable to any in the town. Rumor had it that the funds of the bank had been used in constructing his home. At any rate, it is reliably reported that after operating from 1889 to 1903 this Mr. Willis misappropriated all of the money of the bank, deserted his home and family, and went to Mexico. And thus, we find another banking effort failing, this one being affected also by the financial panic which proved to be a death knell for many enterprises which existed during this period.

VI. SAVING BANKS AS THE OUTGROWTH OF FRATERNAL SOCIETIES

Several fraternal orders which were making rapid headway in the meantime sensed the need for stronger financial institutions to serve mainly as depositories for their funds. This plan, to be sure, was a good one, for in this way the bank had the support of members, most of whom paid monthly dues and assessments to their lodges. This method of "feeding" a bank is used to-day by institutions which organize subsidiaries from which operations quicker and larger profits flow than are possible from the transactions of orthodox banks under strict federal or state supervision.

The big success which attended the organization and operation of these fraternal societies accounts to a large extent for the establishment of several banks during the period from 1888 to 1908. The True Reformers Bank, in Richmond, Virginia; the St. Luke's Penny Savings Bank, in the same city; the Mutual Aid and Banking Company, in Newbern, North Carolina; the Bank of Galilean Fisherman, in Hamp-

⁸⁰ Interview, February 20, 1929—St. Louis.

ton, Virginia; the Sons and Daughters of Peace Penny, Nickel and Dime Bank, of Newport News, Virginia—all of these institutions had their origin within the fraternal organization giving them their names. The first two banks made such favorable impressions on the business world that more than passing notice will be given them in this dissertation.

The establishment of a Savings Bank by the Grand Fountain of the United Order of True Reformers was occasioned when Loving Fountain No. 74 was formed at Massingford, Charlotte County, Virginia. A large sum of money was collected from the newly made members and placed by the treasurer for safekeeping in the safe of a white storekeeper. At this time the race feeling was bitter on account of a recent lynching. This storekeeper, who was envious, bitter, and jealous of the progress made by the Negroes of this town, informed the white people of the large amount of money entrusted to his care and of the danger of allowing Negroes to organize in that community.

When W. W. Browne, the Grand Worthy Master of the Order, learned of this trouble he went immediately to Massingford to straighten out affairs. A Mr. W. H. Grant who had been instrumental in organizing this "fountain" urged Browne to establish a bank, saying, "If we had a bank of our own, the white people would not have any information about our activities."³¹ At first, this suggestion did not meet with Browne's approval. Finally, however, he recommended at the next session, 1887, that a savings bank be opened. Thus plans for securing a charter from the legislature were made by Browne and Giles B. Jackson. It was issued on March, 2, 1888.*

³¹ Burrell and Johnson's *Twenty-five years of the Grand Fountain*, pp. 95-96.

CHARTER

* 1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Virginia, That W. W. Browne, Allen J. Harris, W. P. Burrell, R. F. Robinson, Eliza Allen, E. Monroe, M. A. Berry, C. S. Lucas, H. L. Minnus, P. S. Lindsay and S. W. Sutton,

Much apprehension was expressed about the establishment of this bank. Some people regarded it as a "huge joke." W. W. Browne, the first president, was asked of he were going to open an "ash bank," and he replied that he knew more about an ash bank than any other, but there was no reason why he should not get an introduction to a money bank. At first Browne planned to have the bank as an internal part of the Order, but after much opposition and discussion at the Petersburg session, the matter was finally approved by the board of directors which met in Richmond in 1887. The following officers were elected: W. W. Browne,

together with such other persons as they may hereafter associate with them be, and they are hereby, constituted a body politic and corporate by the name and style of the Savings Bank of the Grand Fountain, United Order of True Reformers, of Virginia, and by that name and style are hereby invested with all the rights and privileges conferred on banks of discount and deposit of this State by chapter 59 of the Code of Virginia, 1873, and not inconsistent with the provisions of this act.

2. The capital stock of the said corporation shall not be less than ten thousand dollars, in shares of five dollars each, which may be increased from time to time to a sum of not exceeding one hundred thousand dollars; provided said bank shall not transact any business under this act until twenty per cent of the minimum shall have been paid up. The said bank shall be located in the city of Richmond, State of Virginia; the officers of said bank shall consist of a President, Vice-President, Cashier and Assistant Cashier (if necessary), and such other clerks and messengers as may be necessary to conduct the business of the same.

3. The Board of Directors elected by the Grand Fountain, United Order of True Reformers, shall constitute the Board of Directors of said Bank; they shall continue in office until the first meeting of the members; at such first meeting, and at every annual meeting thereafter, directors shall be elected, who may be removed by the Grand Fountain, United Order of True Reformers, in general meeting; but unless so removed, shall continue in office until their successors shall be duly elected and qualified. The day for the first meeting of the members shall be prescribed by the by-laws; provided that number shall not be less than five; by-laws may also provide for calling meetings of the members, and any meetings may adjourn from time to time.

4. The Board of Directors shall elect one of their body President and Vice-President, and may fill any vacancy occurring in the Board unless it be by removal, in which case the members may fill the same in general meeting. The said Board shall appoint to hold office during its pleasure, the officers and agents of said Bank, prescribe their compensation, and take from them bonds with such security as it may deem fit.

5. The said Bank may acquire such real estate as may be requisite for

president; Allen J. Harris, vice-president; and R. T. Hill, cashier. John H. Braxton was employed as bookkeeper and teller, and Mrs. E. Burrell as bank clerk. Ten other employees were later added to the staff of workers. The bank opened for business in Richmond, April 3, 1889, on which date \$1,269.28 was deposited. All of the funds of the Grand Order were ordered deposited in this bank.

"The movement," said John M. Langston, "is the first great effort of the Negro to organize a bank."³² Each year progress was noted by the officers. Its strength and growth was especially commendable during the panic of 1893.³³ Concerning this, the cashier wrote:

"Amid the crash of banks, the hush of the manufacturers' hammers, their wheels, cogs and belts, your Savings Bank moves gloriously on, while none dare molest her or make her afraid. She has

the convenient transaction of its business, and such as may be bona fide mortgaged to it by way of security, or conveyed to it for satisfaction of debts contracted in the course of its dealing or purchased at sale upon judgment against persons indebted to it.

6. Said Bank may receive money on deposit and grant certificates therefor, and may levy, sell and negotiate coin, bank notes, foreign and domestic bills of exchange and negotiable notes in and out of this State. It may loan money on personal and real security, and receive interest in advance; may guarantee the payment of notes, bonds, bills of exchange, or other evidence of debt, and may receive for safekeeping gold and silver plate, diamonds, jewelry and other valuables, and charge reasonable compensation therefor. The money received on deposit by said Bank, and other funds of the same, may be invested in or loaned on real security, or be used in purchasing or discounting bonds, bills, notes or other paper.

7. The object of this corporation is to provide a depository for the Grand and Subordinate Fountains of the United Order of True Reformers, a benevolent institution incorporated for such purposes by the Circuit Court of the State of Virginia.

8. All acts and parts of acts inconsistent with this act are hereby repealed.

9. This act shall be in force from its passage.

³² Conflicting opinions are found in sources concerning the first bank owned and operated by Negroes. This bank received its charter on March 2, 1888, but did not begin business until April 3, 1889. In the meantime, the Capitol Savings Bank began business October 17, 1888. Distinction is made by the writer between securing a charter and the actual beginning of business by these banks. Burrell and Johnson's *Twenty-five years of the Grand Fountain*, p. 114.

³³ *Ibid*, p. 155-156.

paid every check presented to her, while others have dropped their heads, drooped their wings and failed, having their very life choked out of them. Believe me, not a bank in this city, and not many others in this State, are cashing depositors' checks, though they may have \$50,000.00."

Along the same line the *Richmond Times* said:

"The Savings Bank, Grand Fountain of True Reformers, the only colored banking institution in this city, has made a record during the recent financial difficulties. It is the only bank which honored all checks and did not stop paying full value in currency. Mr. C. P. Rady, the clerk of the School Board, a few days ago was desirous of securing the necessary currency to pay the salaries of the janitors of the public schools in cash instead of certified checks. He called up by telephone every banking institution in this city, but they refused to honor his check. Lastly he called up the colored bank on North Second Street, and explained his request. He was told at once to bring the check and receive the currency. Thinking that he might have been misunderstood as to the amount asked for, he repeated his question, which met with the same reply. When I called at the bank yesterday I was informed by the teller that the institution had never stopped paying out currency for checks, and that its own checks had been readily taken everywhere."

In referring to the above, W. W. Browne said, "Sons of them that afflict thee shall come bending unto thee."

This bank had attained a strong position in the financial world. It was often referred to as the "Gibraltar of Negro Business." At first conservatism was emphasized. The report of 1895 showed an increase of 36 per cent over business done in 1894, enabling the paying of \$4,420 as dividends to stockholders and interest of \$2,089.38 to the depositors. The deposits found below for subsequent years indicate the constant growth of this institution:⁸⁴

Deposits for the year:

| | |
|------------|-------------|
| 1890 | \$ 9,811.28 |
| 1891 | 55,937.70 |
| 1892 | 79,052.79 |
| 1893 | 108,205.98 |
| 1894 | 162,433.32 |
| 1895 | 281,981.86 |
| 1896 | 345,952.91 |
| 1897 | 343,667.94 |
| 1898 | 327,874.36 |

⁸⁴ Burrell and Johnson's *Twenty-five Years of the Grand Fountain*, pp. 347-349.

| | |
|--|-----------------|
| 1899 | 388,271.23 |
| 1900 | 537,644.82 |
| 1901 | 708,411.48 |
| 1902 | 796,099.91 |
| 1903 | 853,591.53 |
| 1904 | 808,759.53 |
| 1905 | 807,995.17 |
| 1906 | 873,492.95 |
| 1907 | 1,008,996.40 |
| 1908 | 977,808.52 |
| September, 1908, to April 30, 1909 | 609,744.54 |
| <hr/> | |
| Total | \$10,085,734.22 |

This growth was interrupted, however, when the President Rev. W. W. Browne was given a leave of absence for one year on account of poor health. He was succeeded as Grand Master by the Reverend W. L. Taylor, who also became the head of the bank. Many of the strict banking rules which had made the institution an important factor in banking circles were soon discarded. The Grand Order which was closely tied up with the bank was also spreading very rapidly over the United States. Branches as far West as Kansas were set up but left with little supervision. The assessments of these branches were to be deposited in the Savings Bank but accurate checkups were difficult. Lax business methods within the banking institution along with the meager banking experience of the officers contributed much to the failure of the bank. It has been reported³⁵ in this regard that "gold was being piled up by the officers of this bank within the vault to be used as an inducement for Negroes to join the True Reformers." Such a plan prohibited the officers from making loans from which the banks derive their profit. At any rate, the bank failed in 1910 after enjoying more than twenty years of sound growth.

Out of the Independent Order of Saint Luke which had been operating from Virginia as its base since 1867, another bank was formed in 1903 by Mrs. Maggie L. Walker. It was named the St. Lukes Penny Savings Bank. Although the

³⁵ Interview, October, 1928, with J. A. Jackson of the U. S. Department of Commerce.

society which nurtured the growth of this bank had not won the high place in the fraternal world which the True Reformers held, the membership was increasing by leaps and bounds. A little reorganization became necessary on account of state regulation. The failure of the True Reformers Bank led the Legislature of Virginia to create a Banking Division which forced the separation of secret orders and their banks. Thus the name of St. Lukes Penny Savings Bank was changed to the Saint Lukes Bank and Trust Company. For twenty-five years this bank has won its way upward under the guiding influence of the first woman bank president in America and the only one of the Negro race, Mrs. Maggie L. Walker. The other officers are: J. Thomas Hewin, vice-president; S. W. Robinson, Jr., vice-president; P. H. Ford, vice-president; Emmett C. Burke, cashier; and Melvin D. Walker, assistant cashier³⁶

It is reported that at the last meeting of the stockholders held in Richmond in 1929, the twenty-third dividend amounting to 5 per cent was paid. This bank claims to be the oldest bank owned and operated by Negroes in the United States. It enters its twenty-sixth year as a safe and sound banking institution with almost a half million dollars in resources.³⁷ This is especially commendable for it is

36 STATEMENT OF THE FINANCIAL CONDITION OF THE ST. LUKE BANK AND TRUST COMPANY

as of December 31, 1928

| <i>Resources</i> | | <i>Liabilities</i> | |
|---|--------------|--|--------------|
| Loans and Discounts | \$392,566.97 | Capital Stock paid in..... | \$ 50,000.00 |
| Overdrafts unsecured | 85.77 | Surplus Fund | 85,000.00 |
| Bonds, Securities, etc. owned, including premium on same | 1,710.00 | Undivided profits less amount paid for interest, expenses and taxes..... | 2,336.22 |
| Banking House and Lot..... | 88,050.00 | Dividends unpaid\$ | 3,924.30 |
| Other Real Estate Owned..... | 4,901.24 | Individual de- posits subject to check.... | 135,852.49 |
| Furniture and Fixtures..... | 2,318.48 | Savings Deposits. | 250,750.44 |
| Cash and due from Banks.... | 40,208.49 | Certified checks.. | 1,230.80 |
| | | Cashier's checks outstanding. | 146.70 |
| | | Total of all deposits..... | 391,904.73 |
| | | Reserved for accrued interest on deposits and certificates of deposits | 500.00 |
| | | Reserved for accrued taxes.... | 100.00 |
| Total Resources | \$479,840.95 | Total Liabilities | \$479,840.95 |

³⁷ *Statement to State Corporation Commission of Virginia, 1929.*

generally said that the average life of a bank is twenty-five years. They lose their identity by merger, reorganization, or failure. The writer knows of only one more bank owned and operated by Negroes, which has enjoyed a quarter of a century of banking experience.⁸⁸

Commercial banking was not done on a large scale by these institutions. They concerned themselves mainly with thrift and the safekeeping of the funds of their orders. Negro banks up to this time, which had no relationship with a fraternal order and which ventured farther in the commercial banking field did not have pleasant and long lives. The reason, however, is obvious. The failure of the Freedmen's Bank was still fresh in the minds of Negroes. Negroes were still skeptical, lacking in confidence in most banking institutions. One could hardly promote any bank without incurring the opposition and general lack of faith on the part of Negroes in every community. Then, too, there were only a small number of worthwhile business enterprises which could support the banks. Commercial banking, as is well known, prospers when thriving and financially sound businesses are growing, expanding and qualifying for commercial bank credit. Lastly, most Negroes were engaged in agricultural pursuits, and to extend commercial credit to the farmer usually brought about long time and frozen loans.

Not one of the strictly commercial banks which were established between 1888 and 1900 survived. They wrought well. They ventured out—dared to invade the highly specialized commercial banking arena without highly trained bankers and entered a field which among them had not been developed. Pioneers under such conditions often become martyrs. On the other hand, the St. Luke Bank and Trust Company which had the financial support of the order having the same name is still experiencing steady growth. Many of these failures were attributable to the inability of these banks to weather the "storm and stress" period

⁸⁸ *Report of Citizens Savings Bank of Nashville, Tennessee, 1929.*

which culminated in the panic of 1893. But, the failure of most of these institutions was caused by the lax banking practices which permitted the misappropriation of funds and many other gross irregularities.

VII. REVIVED INTEREST OF NEGROES IN ORGANIZING BANKS THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES

Since 1900, however, a revival of interest in the establishment of commercial and savings banks is noted in every section of the country. As has been pointed out, thrift and home ownership dominated the program of most of these banks in the beginning. This encouragement to save and to buy property had a helpful influence on the general progress of the Negro in every community where a bank was established. Concerning them, Booker Washington wrote,³⁹ "In recent years I have had the privilege of visiting nearly every one of the communities where Negro banks are located, and I can state without exaggeration that I have not found a single one of them that did not have the good will and support of the white business men of the communities in which they are located."

Many of these banks were established in large Southern cities where such a favorable situation was not generally expected. The unfair banking practices along with the general discrimination heaped upon Negroes, however, necessitated the organization of banking institutions of their own. Negroes had learned that credit would not be extended to them on the same basis on which white business men and farmers could procure it. They experienced also the calling of their loans, the foreclosure of their mortgages, and the inability to obtain credit at the very time when their loss meant some white creditor's gain. And so we find the eighty-eight accredited commercial and savings banks organized by and for Negroes during the period from 1900 to 1928.⁴⁰

³⁹ Washington's *The Story of the Negro*, Vol. II, p. 231, 233.

⁴⁰ DIRECTORY OF NEGRO BANKS, FROM 1900 TO 1928

ALABAMA

Tuskegee Institute Savings Bank, Tuskegee InstituteR. B. Moton
President

The rapid success of these banks as gleaned from their financial statements bespeaks the service which some of them have been to the Negro race in their respective communities. In so short a time institutions could not make such deep and worthwhile impressions in the business world were they not of unquestionable financial service to their respective communities. Many of the banks cited

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

| | |
|---|-----------------|
| Industrial Savings Bank, Washington | John W. Lewis |
| The Prudential Bank, Washington | J. R. Hawkins |
| Union Laborers Savings Bank, Washington | J. H. W. Howard |

FLORIDA

| | |
|--|----------------|
| Progress Savings Bank, Key West | |
| The Ocala Savings Bank, Ocala | F. P. Gadson |
| Anderson and Company Bankers, Jacksonville | C. H. Anderson |

GEORGIA

| | |
|--|----------------|
| Atlanta State Savings Bank, Atlanta | J. O. Ross |
| Auburn Savings Corporation Bank, Atlanta | B. J. Davis |
| Penny Savings Loan and Investment Co., Augusta | R. S. Williams |
| Fidelity Savings Bank, Savannah | E. H. Quo |
| Mechanics Investment Company, Savannah | E. H. Quo |
| Mechanics Savings Bank, Savannah | P. E. Perry |
| Savannah Savings and Real Estate Corp., Savannah | W. S. Scott |
| Wage Earners Savings Bank, Savannah | L. E. Williams |
| Liberty Savings and Real Estate Corp., Macon | R. E. Harlery |
| Middle Georgia Savings and Investment Co., Macon | C. H. Douglass |
| Laborers Savings and Loan Co., Columbus | J. L. Scanins |
| Citizens Trust Co., Atlanta | A. M. Wilkins |

ILLINOIS

| | |
|--|-----------------|
| Binga State Bank, Chicago | Jessa Binga |
| Douglass National Bank of Chicago, Chicago | Anthony Overton |

KENTUCKY

| | |
|--|---------------|
| First Standard Bank, Louisville | Wilson Lovett |
| American Mutual Savings Bank, Louisville | W. H. Wright |

LOUISIANA

| | |
|---|--------------|
| Citizens State Banking Company, New Orleans | J. H. Lowery |
|---|--------------|

MARYLAND

| | |
|---|----------------|
| Hatchett and Lewis Bankers, Baltimore | Truly Hatchett |
| J. Winfield Thomas Bank, Baltimore | |
| Harry O. Wilson Bank, Baltimore | |
| Wingate and Brown Bankers, Baltimore | |
| Taylor and Jenkins Bankers, Baltimore | |

MASSACHUSETTS

| | |
|--|----------------|
| Eureka Cooperative Bank, Boston | Gilbert Harris |
| South End Cooperative Bank, Boston | E. P. Benjamin |

in the directory have long since ceased to operate. It may be well, however, to indicate the service which the most representative banks rendered to their respective communities before they failed.

In the case of the Wage Earners Savings Bank which was established in 1900 at Savannah, Georgia, with an authorized capital of \$50,000, the writer is personally acquainted with some of the founders and directors. Negroes of this city were proud of the banking progress which these

MICHIGAN

D. C. Northcross and Co., Bankers, DetroitD. C. Northcross
Peoples Finance Corp., DetroitA. L. Turner

MISSISSIPPI

Mound Bayou State Bank, Mound BayouT. S. Morris
Delta Penny Savings Bank, IndianolaJ. E. Walker

MISSOURI

Peoples Finance Corporation, St. LouisChas. E. Herriot

NORTH CAROLINA

Dime Bank, KinstonH. E. Dunn
Forsyth Savings and Trust Co., Winston-SalemJ. S. Hill
Citizens Bank and Trust Co., Winston-SalemJ. W. Jones
Holloway, Murphy and Co., KinstonT. B. Holloway
Albemarle Bank, Elizabeth CityE. E. Hoffer
Commercial Bank of Wilson, WilsonS. H. Vick
Fraternal Bank and Trust Company, DurhamW. G. Pearson
Mechanics and Farmers Bank, DurhamC. C. Spaulding
Mechanics and Farmers Bank (branch), RaleighC. C. Spaulding
Mutual Aid and Banking Co., NewbernJ. P. Stanley
Isaac Smith Trust Co., NewbernIsaac Smith

OHIO

Empire Savings and Loan Co., ClevelandH. E. Murrell
Adelphi Building, Loan and Savings Co., ColumbusD. C. Chandler

OKLAHOMA

Boley Bank and Trust Co., BoleyJ. J. Johnson
First National Bank of Boley, Boley

PENNSYLVANIA

Modern State Bank, PittsburghJ. L. Phillips
Citizens and Southern Bank and Trust Co., Philadelphia . .R. R. Wright, Sr.
The Steel City Banking Co., PittsburghM. S. Hunter
Keystone Bank, PhiladelphiaJ. C. Asbury
Brown and Stevens Banking Co., PhiladelphiaE. C. Brown

SOUTH CAROLINA

Victory Savings Bank, ColumbiaC. E. Stevenson
Mutual Savings Bank, CharlestonE. E. Edwards

leaders made in this institution. At one time there were about 18,000 depositors, most of whom were agricultural and industrial workers. There were about twelve employees in this bank, some of whom had received specialized business training. For twenty-five years and more this bank served a pressing need in this community and was the inspiration for the establishing of three other banking organizations in the same city. Practically one half of the loans which were made were of the commercial type, most of

| | |
|--|-----------------------|
| Peoples Federation Bank, Charleston | W. H. Johnson |
| Workers Enterprise Bank, Bennettsville | E. J. Sawyer |
| TENNESSEE | |
| Fraternal Savings Bank and Trust Co., Memphis | A. F. Ward |
| Solvent Savings Bank and Trust Co., Memphis | T. H. Hays |
| Citizens Savings Bank and Trust Co., Nashville | H. A. Boyd |
| Peoples Savings Bank and Trust Co., Nashville | J. B. Singleton |
| TEXAS | |
| Farmers and Citizens Savings Bank, Palestine | E. M. Grigg |
| Farmers Improvement Bank, Waco | R. L. Smith |
| Farmers and Mechanics Bank, Tyler | W. A. Redwine |
| Fraternal Bank and Trust Co., Fort Worth | Thomas Mason |
| Workmen's Savings and Loan Co., Galveston | Edward Washington |
| VIRGINIA | |
| Brown Savings Bank, Norfolk | E. C. Brown |
| Metropolitan Bank and Trust Co., Norfolk | W. M. Rich |
| Crown Savings Bank, Newport News | E. C. Brown |
| Commercial Bank and Trust Co., Richmond | J. T. Carter |
| Gideon Savings Bank, Norfolk | |
| Gallilean Fishermen's Bank, Hampton | |
| Tidewater Bank and Trust Company, Norfolk | |
| Sons and Daughters of Peace, Penny, Nickel and Dime Bank, New- | |
| port News | S. A. Howell |
| Second Street Savings Bank, Richmond | John T. Taylor |
| Peoples Dime Savings Bank and Trust Co., Staunton | Samuel Lindsay |
| Peoples Bank of Petersburg, Petersburg | |
| Savings Bank of Danville, Danville | W. Thompson |
| St. Luke's Penny Savings Bank, Richmond | Mrs. Maggie L. Walker |
| Nickel Savings Bank, Richmond | R. F. Taniol |
| Mechanics Savings Bank, Richmond | John Mitchell, Jr. |
| Community Savings Bank, Portsmouth | J. F. Proctor |
| The Phoenix Bank of Nansemond, Suffolk | J. W. Richardson |
| Continental Savings Bank, Dendron | |
| WEST VIRGINIA | |
| Mutual Savings and Loan Co., Charleston | C. E. Mitchell |

which were due after the customary three months period. Large investments of funds in real estate, farm and long term loans brought about frozen assets. Its failure was quickened also by the inability of the bank to collect many of the commercial loans which were not made on the sound financial condition of businesses requesting credit but on friendship.

In the case also of the Solvent Savings Bank and Trust Company,⁴¹ the writer when a school boy was a depositor in what to him was the Negro's pinnacle of business success. It had its birth in 1906 when the late R. R. Church and his associates saw the need for such an institution in a large and thriving Negro community. Negroes welcomed it. A careful study of the statement below will reveal the extent to which this institution made a favorable impression in Memphis. At one time some of the most prominent men of of the city were connected in official ways with the bank. Among them were H. H. Pace, cashier, Bert M. Roddy,

"STATEMENT OF FINANCIAL CONDITION OF THE SOLVENT SAVINGS BANK AND TRUST COMPANY

November 15, 1920

| <i>Resources</i> | | <i>Liabilities</i> | |
|--------------------------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------|
| Loans and discounts.....\$ | 475,617.49 | Capital stock | |
| Overdrafts | None | paid in...\$ | 76,520.71 |
| Bonds and stocks and | | Surplus fund..... | None |
| warrants | 545.50 | Undivided profits | |
| Banking house | 12,190.00 | less expenses | |
| Furniture and fixtures..... | 11,005.90 | and taxes | |
| Other real estate..... | 18,557.60 | paid | 16,647.54 |
| Actual cash on | | | \$ 98,168.25 |
| on hand..\$ | 27,455.91 | Individual | |
| Due from banks | | deposits | |
| and bankers | | subject to | |
| (on de- | | check | \$327,429.37 |
| mand) ... | 845,868.62 | Demand certifi- | |
| Exchanges for | | cates of | |
| clearing | | deposit .. | None |
| house ... | 9,935.74 | Due banks | |
| | 382,760.27 | and bankers | |
| Due from banks and bankers | | on demand | None |
| (not on demand)..... | 68,644.79 | Cashier's checks | 4,033.22 |
| Checks and cash items..... | 1,888.23 | Certified checks | 559.00 |
| Cash items in transit..... | 189.00 | Due to clearing | |
| Customers' liability under | | house | None |
| letters of credit..... | None | Unpaid | |
| Customers' liability account | | Dividends.. | 1,079.34 |
| of acceptances..... | None | Total demand | |
| Other resources: | | deposits .. | \$333,100.93 |
| War Savings Certificates.... | 2,858.63 | Savings | |
| U. S. Bonds | 187,700.00 | Deposits.. | 517,534.02 |
| U. S. Certificates of credit.. | 30,000.00 | Time Certifi- | |
| | | cates of | |
| | | deposit ... | 192,599.26 |
| | | Total deposits | |
| | | | 1,043,234.21 |
| Total | \$1,186,402.46 | Total | \$1,186,402.46 |

T. H. Hayes, J. W. Sanford, and R. R. Church, Jr. It ought to be said in fairness, however, that most of these men were not connected with the bank at the time of its failure.

The Solvent Bank had an authorized capital of \$100,000, more than three-fourths of which was paid in. There were about 20,000 depositors in 1920—Negro men and women who had entrusted more than a million dollars of earnings to this bank. This is the first instance of any bank owned and operated by Negroes with a million dollars in deposits. This bank specialized in commercial loans, 80 per cent of which were made for a term longer than ninety days. Unprofitable farm loans were also made, more than 20 per cent of the working capital being tied up in this type of loans. But perhaps the most serious mistake which this bank made was to permit officers and directors to borrow, on scanty security, large sums of money for the purpose of promoting their own commercial ventures and financing other hazardous schemes and contrivances.

This bank enjoyed for twenty or more years the confidence and good will of the entire community. It served, too, as the inspiration for the establishment of the Fraternal Savings Bank which later figured conspicuously in the business and commercial life of Negroes in this same city. In other words, no other Negro community could boast of having two banks as well established as Memphis had from 1910 to 1920. Practically the same type of business was indulged in here as we have noted in the bank described above.

A genuine and friendly banking rivalry, as is sometime helpful, existed between the Solvent and Fraternal Banks until they were merged. The story of the failed institution is so fresh in our readers' minds that it will not be necessary to explain the causes of failure in detail. Suffice it to say that the grossest irregularities—wholesale and almost incredible instances of insufficient and unsecured notes—misappropriation and other unsound banking practices brought about the failure of the first Negro bank which had reached the point of having a million dollars on deposit.

The first effort at banking in Atlanta was a savings institution established by Mr. J. O. Ross. Before the business could be well on the way to prosperity he worked out a novel scheme of his own. He believed that instead of lending the money of the bank to other people he could use it himself and thus make large profits for himself and family. Working toward this end, he established a chain of stores called the "United Commercial Exchange." This new venture brought in some capital obtained by the sale of stock, which together with that of the funds of the bank was used unwisely. Endeavoring to make his business a self-sufficient chain of institutions, he used some of these funds to buy farms to supply vegetables for these stores and other such things as the stores might handle, each one being taken care of by a special company established for the particular purpose in mind. These illegal loans, however, together with the oncoming depression and small returns from these numerous investments, brought failure to these enterprises at the end of about two years, and Ross absconded. That such criminal practices had been indulged in was due to the fact that the officers in charge were inexperienced men who knew nothing about conducting an institution of this sort and depended almost altogether upon Ross. One of these officials had not developed in life higher than that of janitorship at one of the local colleges. The bookkeeping was deficient as evidenced by the failure to provide for daily balancing of individual accounts.

A few more of the banks listed in the directory have been closed for similar reasons. They were smaller in size, in importance, and in the extent of the service which they rendered. Attention must be directed here to the number of banks which essayed the commercial banking role but have failed.

The writer has been privileged to visit practically every large city where a Negro bank is operating and has studied the financial statements of many of the banks which have not been visited, and he is convinced that there are not more than a half dozen banks owned and operated by Negroes,

which are actually making even ordinary banking profits by specializing in commercial loans. The banks serve a useful purpose in promoting thrift and home ownership, but this is not commercial banking in the true sense of the word. Commercial banks need the support of profitably operated business enterprises. And it must be admitted that up to this time a sufficiently large number of well established businesses among Negroes are not found in many of the cities. Therefore, we do not find many Negro banks actually making money in this field. Herein, however, are presented the latest financial statements of several of the large banks owned and operated by Negroes, which, if we judge from these reports, are in sound financial condition.

VIII. OUTSTANDING NEGRO BANKS IN THE UNITED STATES TODAY

It is remarkable that in spite of all that has been said and done a few of these institutions have lived and others have sprung up to carry the work forward. For example, the Citizens Savings Bank and Trust Company of Nashville, Tennessee, recently observed its twenty-five years of banking success with a celebration called a "Silver Jubilee" on January 16, 1929. The present officers are: H. A. Boyd, president; W. J. Hale, first vice-president; W. C. Sheffield, second vice-president; J. C. Napier, cashier; A. G. Price, assistant cashier; and Preston Taylor, chairman of the executive committee. This institution in cooperating with the Peoples Savings Bank and Trust Company is serving a useful purpose in that city.⁴²

^a CITIZENS SAVINGS BANK AND TRUST COMPANY, NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

Statement as of November 24, 1928

| <i>Resources</i> | | <i>Liabilities</i> | |
|---|--------------|---|--------------|
| Loans and Discounts..... | \$169,372.36 | Capital Stock paid in, Surplus and Undivided profits, less expenses and taxes paid...\$ | 52,482.87 |
| Overdrafts | 517.20 | Individual Deposits subject to check | 97,567.81 |
| Bonds and Stocks and Warrants | 52,650.00 | Christmas Checks | 151.29 |
| Judgements | 513.00 | Overdrafts | 517.20 |
| Furniture and Fixtures..... | 11,109.58 | Cashier's checks | 876.55 |
| Other Real Estate | 29,100.00 | Certified checks | 197.58 |
| Actual Cash and Due from Banks and Bankers..... | 37,674.42 | Unpaid Dividends..... | 107.96 |
| Checks and Cash items..... | 2,778.07 | Savings Deposits..... | 138,963.37 |
| | | Time Certificates on Deposit.. | 13,350.00 |
| Total | \$303,714.63 | Total | \$303,714.63 |

The Mechanic and Farmers Bank of Durham and Raleigh, North Carolina, is the outgrowth of the large amount of cash and capital amassed by the men who successfully promoted the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company and other related institutions in that state. The guiding hand of its present president, C. C. Spaulding, has been long seen in the progress of this bank. The Corporation Commission of North Carolina highly regards this bank as a safe and conservatively managed institution. It serves as a depository for the large number of worthwhile enterprises in Durham and also in Raleigh where a branch is maintained.

A recent experience may tend to show the real strength of this bank. In January 1929, the Raleigh Branch was held up by robbers who managed to get away with a considerable amount of cash. Although insurance covered this loss, President Spaulding immediately brought from Durham many thousand dollars in cash and marketable bonds so as to ward off any run that might have been occasioned by the rumor that the bank was robbed and consequently short of funds.

Two banks are also operating in Louisville, and from their 1928 reports to the National Negro Bankers Associa-

MECHANICS AND FARMERS BANK, DURHAM AND RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA

Statement as of December 31, 1928

| <i>Resources</i> | | <i>Liabilities</i> | |
|------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|
| Loans and Discounts | \$538,756.47 | Capital Stock, paid in | \$113,725.00 |
| Overdrafts | 969.76 | Surplus | 15,500.00 |
| Stocks and Bonds (including | | Deposits Subject to Check | 257,056.76 |
| U. S. Liberty Bonds) | 83,388.50 | Certificates of Deposit | 65,421.91 |
| Banking House, Raleigh, N.C. | 43,638.90 | Savings Deposits | 250,961.17 |
| Furniture and Fixtures | 29,766.21 | Cashier's Checks, outstanding .. | 6,516.21 |
| Other Real Estate | 18,862.64 | Certified Checks, outstanding .. | 1,128.54 |
| Cash in Vaults and due from | | Dividends Checks, outstanding | 116.00 |
| Banks and Bankers | 92,943.64 | Bonds Borrowed | 10,000.00 |
| All other resources | 881.80 | Bills payable | 88,282.33 |
| Total | \$758,707.92 | Total | \$758,707.92 |
| | | Resources of the Raleigh | |
| | | branch bank, included in | |
| | | above | \$177,895.01 |

The officers of this institution are as follows: Dr. S. L. Warren, Chairman of the Board; O. C. Spaulding, President; E. R. Merrick, Vice-President; Dr. Clyde Donnell, Vice-President; Britton Pearce, Vice-President; Dr. W. C. Strudwick, Vice-President; Berry O'Kelly, Active Vice-President; R. L. McDougald, Vice-President-Cashier; Chas. E. Frazer, Cashier, Raleigh Branch Bank; J. M. Avery, Trust Officer; J. S. Hughson, Assistant Cashier; T. D. Parham, Assistant Trust Officer.

tion, which met in that city, we learn that both institutions have broadened their service and increased their profits by establishing industrial loan departments. Only the statement of the First Standard Bank, of which Mr. Wilson Lovett is president, is here given.⁴³ The service which the American Mutual Savings Bank is rendering in Louisville is none the less valuable. Mention ought to be made of the untiring efforts of the first president, Attorney Wright, who died a few years after the establishing of this bank. His program, however, is being successfully carried out under the leadership of the present president, J. O. Blanton.

The Citizens Trust Company, of Atlanta, has been operating since August, 1921. It began as a unit of the Perry enterprises and after a rather picturesque existence has merged into a real financial institution. It would be difficult to explain the difficulties withstood by this institution during that long period when the Standard Life and related companies were seriously involved. "This institution must have had a soul," says one, "for it could not have withstood the steady withdrawals of deposits and the common street conversation to the effect that 'the Bank is going to close,' " Yet through it all, no "Time Notice" was put on Savings Accounts, and every other demand was met. The re-organization of the Citizens Trust Company was effected in September, 1927, when a 100 per cent stock assessment was levied and collected. This action eliminated

43 FIRST STANDARD BANK, LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

Statement as of December 31, 1928

| <i>Resources</i> | | <i>Liabilities</i> | |
|---------------------------------|--------------|---------------------------------|--------------|
| Loans and Discounts..... | \$440,129.83 | Capital Stock paid in cash.... | \$140,100.00 |
| Overdrafts, secured and | | Surplus and Undivided Profits.. | 18,607.04 |
| unsecured | 390.02 | Deposits subject | |
| Due from Banks | 22,671.36 | to check.... | \$151,653.85 |
| Cash on Hand..... | 26,787.14 | Time Deposits .. | 240,029.23 |
| Banking House, Furniture and | | Certified Checks. | 282.90 |
| Fixtures | 18,534.00 | Cashier's checks | |
| Other Real Estate..... | 44,254.96 | outstanding | 2,689.42 |
| Other Assets not included under | | | 894,654.90 |
| any of above heads..... | 3,562.84 | Unpaid Dividends..... | 118.00 |
| | | Bills Payable..... | 7,850.21 |
| Total | \$556,330.15 | Total | \$556,330.15 |

The officers of this bank are as follows: Wilson Lovett, President; W. W. Spradling, Chairman of Board; Bishop Geo. C. Clement, Vice-President; Dr. L. R. Johnson, Vice-President; J. R. Ray, Cashier; L. T. Phillips, Assistant Cashier.

old stockholders who had not paid the assessments and also gave the institution a new financial start under the control of the National Benefit Life Insurance Company, which naturally came into possession of this bank when it was reorganized.⁴⁴

Out of the numerous efforts at banking in Norfolk has emerged one institution which seems to be making headway in the financial world. This is the Metropolitan Bank and Trust Company of which W. M. Rich is president. This bank had its beginning as the Brown Savings Bank which was established by E. C. Brown, who later figured as a financier and promoter of amusements which brought him ruin in Philadelphia. Prior to this crash the institution in Norfolk was reorganized under a new name and committed to other hands. The Metropolitan Bank and Trust Company not only maintained its high standing during the post bellum slump in business about 1921 but prevented the wreck of the Tidewater Bank and Trust Company of that city by guaranteeing its deposits at a tremendous cost to this public spirited institution.

Two banks of Washington deserve mention here. The first of these, the Industrial Savings Bank, was opened for business over fifteen years ago with deposits then of \$2,235.40. John W. Lewis, the founder and first president was an unusual character, truly remarkable for his ability to organize men and money. With an all too little school training, he had a natural talent of high degree for commercial and high financial developments. He associated in

⁴⁴ STATEMENT OF CONDITION CITIZENS TRUST COMPANY

As of December 31, 1928

| <i>Resources</i> | | <i>Liabilities</i> | |
|--|--------------|------------------------------------|--------------|
| Loans and Discounts..... | \$113,276.12 | Capital Stock | \$120,000.00 |
| U. S. and Other Bonds Owned | 15,275.71 | Surplus and Undivided Profits..... | 26,498.32 |
| Banking House and Lot..... | 65,000.00 | Reserve Funds | 8,600.00 |
| Furniture and Fixtures | 22,500.00 | Cashier's Checks | 1,143.73 |
| Other Real Estate Owned..... | 38,157.62 | Certified Checks | 176.75 |
| Cash in Vault and Due from Banks (Approved Res. Agts.) | 86,615.70 | Deposits | 188,240.67 |
| Overdrafts | None | Bills Payable | None |
| Other Resources | 4,162.82 | Other Liabilities | 328.50 |
| Total | \$344,987.97 | Total | \$344,987.97 |

opening this bank with a group of men from the ranks of laborers and mechanics, and no other institution has been more generally recognized as the "Bank of the People." The last report⁴⁵ to the Comptroller of Currency shows \$465,209.10 in deposits. William A. Bowie, the popular and efficient cashier, shares with the founder full credit for the organization and development of this institution.

The steady growth of the bank has so impressed the stockholders that a regular campaign has been launched to increase the deposits to a million dollars and thereby increase the power of the bank for service in the field of thrift and industry. To carry out this new program, Mr. W. H. C. Brown, formerly of the Brown Savings Bank and the Metropolitan Bank and Trust Company of Norfolk, and the Crown Savings Bank of Newport News, Virginia, has been elected president. Mr. Walter S. Carter, the retiring president is now chairman of the board of directors.

Desiring to provide additional facilities of credit for the increasing number of Negro business men in Washington, another group of enterprising men in this city set out five years ago to establish a commercial bank. They met with the same sort of discouragement which other such efforts encountered, but they earnestly labored until they raised sufficient capital to meet the requirements of the law for financial institutions of this type and opened the doors of what is now the Prudential Bank under United States Government supervision. Since then its history has been an upward climb until it is now pointed to as one of the important assets of the race. \$92,320 of the \$100,000 capital stock allowed has been paid and \$8,015 subscribed for. The deposits have increased from \$43,000 the first

⁴⁵ REPORT OF CONDITION OF INDUSTRIAL SAVINGS BANK

As reported to the Comptroller of Currency, December 31, 1928

| <i>Resources</i> | <i>Liabilities</i> |
|--|---|
| Cash Reserve\$ 72,578.04 Real Estate and Collateral Loans 156,753.41 Bond Investments..... 265,070.50 Banking House and Furniture and Fixtures 85,858.91 | Capital Stock\$ 50,000.00 Surplus and Undivided Profits 15,051.76 Deposits 465,209.10 |
| <u>\$580, 260.86</u> | <u>\$580, 260.86</u> |

month to \$325,107.60 in February, 1929. The surplus has increased beyond \$12,000 and the management is making a strenuous effort to bring it up to \$25,000 by the end of the year. Such appeals from this institution have been heeded generally by the Washington public because of its increasing confidence in the men who are managing this institution. The president, who has served in that capacity from the very beginning of the bank, is John R. Hawkins, a man of ripe experience as a practical educator, and the Financial Secretary of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Associated with him as vice-presidents are Dr. A. M. Curtis and Dr. P. W. Price, both prominent physicians of Washington, and Mr. Thomas Walker, an attorney of high standing in the city. Mr. Edward Baker is the cashier, and Mr. Joseph H. Greene is the assistant cashier.⁴⁶

Here, a fitting tribute ought to be paid to the man who by persistent effort, sacrifice, and hard work organized and safely steered the Binga State Bank from a small institution dealing mostly in real estate to a strong intrenched commercial bank. Jesse Binga, unquestionably, is the guiding spirit of the bank bearing his name. This bank has been an important factor in the Negroes' acquisition of property in Chicago. Its organization marked the first attempt of Negroes to do a strictly commercial banking business in a Northern city. And from all reports, these efforts have been unusually successful. Today with resources of \$1,752,200.54 the Binga State Bank is able to and does play an important role in the banking world. Without

⁴⁶ STATEMENT OF THE FINANCIAL CONDITION OF THE PRUDENTIAL BANK
AT THE CLOSE OF BUSINESS, FEBRUARY 7, 1929

| <i>Resources</i> | | <i>Liabilities</i> | |
|---|--------------|--|--------------|
| Loans and Discounts..... | \$199,125.80 | Capital Stock | \$ 92,320.00 |
| Overdrafts | 255.82 | Capital Stock Subscription.... | 8,015.00 |
| Bonds | 136,056.25 | Surplus and Undivided Profits | 12,000.96 |
| Banking House Furniture and Fixtures | 72,300.72 | Bills Payable | 22,500.00 |
| Cash due from Banks..... | 42,811.85 | Deposits | 325,107.60 |
| Other Resources | 7,021.67 | Reserved for Interest to Depositors | 1,075.00 |
| Accrued Interest | 3,446.45 | | |
| | <hr/> | | <hr/> |
| | \$461,018.56 | | \$461,018.56 |

doubt, it is one of the leading banks owned and operated by Negroes anywhere.⁴⁷

The Negroes of Philadelphia are being served by the Citizens and Southern Bank and Trust Company. This bank was organized November 19, 1920, when R. R. Wright, Sr., who for many years had been president of the Georgia State Industrial College in Savannah, moved North. In Philadelphia, he and his loyal associates safely launched this institution which has had a steady growth since its organization. This bank, located in a Northern city where commercial opportunities are larger, specializes in commercial loans. More than \$100,000 of the working capital has been invested in call loans to responsible individuals and corporations. With nearly a half million dollars in assets, this bank is seemingly doing a worthwhile work in the "city of brotherly love."⁴⁸

Most of the banks whose statements have been cited are

" BINGA STATE BANK, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Statement as of December 31, 1928

| <i>Resources</i> | | <i>Liabilities</i> | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| Loans and Discounts..... | \$1,055,223.07 | Capital | \$ 200,000.00 |
| Bonds, Securities, etc. | 227,047.97 | Surplus | 45,000.00 |
| Bank Premises, Furniture and | | Undivided Profits | 22,439.48 |
| Fixtures | 122,489.99 | Unearned Discount | 1,437.46 |
| Accrued Interest Receivable.. | 11,874.45 | Reserved for Interest..... | 8,236.14 |
| Coupons Receivable | 701.00 | Dividends Unpaid | 406.50 |
| Cash and Due from Banks.. | 384,864.06 | Deposits | 1,474,680.96 |
| Total | \$1,752,200.54 | Total | \$1,752,200.54 |

The officers are as follows: Jesse Binga, president; J. R. Marshall, vice-president; Chas. H. Clark, vice-president; C. N. Langston, cashier; I. V. Cantey, auditor.

**48 CITIZENS AND SOUTHERN BANK AND TRUST COMPANY
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA**

Statement of condition as of October 2, 1928

| <i>Assets</i> | | <i>Liabilities</i> | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|
| Cash, Reserve and Due from | | Capital | \$125,000.00 |
| Banks | \$ 73,187.09 | Surplus and Undivided Profits | 36,899.16 |
| Bonds | 125,995.97 | Reserve for Depreciation, Inter- | |
| Call Loans | 105,000.00 | est, etc. | 1,002.18 |
| Loans and Discounts..... | 72,713.25 | Deposits | 288,069.23 |
| Mortgage Loans | 7,750.00 | Other Liabilities | 311.88 |
| Banking House and Equipment | 48,000.00 | | |
| Other Real Estate..... | 18,000.00 | | |
| Other Assets | 136.09 | | |
| Total | \$450,782.40 | Total | \$450,782.40 |

The officers of this institution are as follows: R. R. Wright, Sr., president-treasurer; R. R. Wright, Jr., vice-president, secretary; E. W. Thornton, vice-president; E. O. Wright, assistant secretary; William Newman, chairman of the finance committee; Raymond Pace Alexander, trust officer.

supervised by state authorities. As such, they are not members of the Federal Reserve System which has proved to be helpful in solving the intricate credit problems which arise in the banking world. To become a member of this system a bank must have paid-up unimpaired capital, the financial condition must be sound, the general character of its management must be satisfactory, and the corporate powers exercised by it must not be inconsistent with the principles embodied in the Federal Reserve Act. On becoming a member the bank must use six per cent of its capital to purchase stock in the Federal Reserve Bank of that district. The system comprises twelve districts. Three per cent, or one-half of this subscription is payable in cash at once, while the other is subject to payment on demand.

There are certain advantages to be had when a bank is a member of the Federal Reserve System, the most important ones being the power to rediscount, the right to receive cumulative dividends on the Federal Reserve Bank stock at six per cent, and the right to obtain the services of the Federal Reserve System to act as correspondent, purchaser of securities, and as advisor on the general business conditions throughout this country and abroad. The rediscount privilege is indeed an advantage, for if a member bank has \$50,000 worth of notes on hand it can rediscount these at the Federal Reserve Bank and get credit for the same, provided it has the proper reserve and complies with the other regulations.

It is not to be inferred here, however, that only the member banks are safe and sound. Only two or three banks which are owned and operated by Negroes are members of the Federal Reserve System. The Douglass National Bank, without a doubt, is the leader in this field. Its success can be attributed to the farsight and genius of Anthony Overton, the founder and president. The original money necessary for the organization of this bank was made from the successful operation of the Overton Hygenic Company. The latest statement of this bank shows that more than

\$2,000,000 in resources have been accumulated for the protection of depositors. It has the largest amount of resources of any of the banks which are owned and operated by Negroes in the United States. Necessarily, this institution specializes in commercial loans. The close supervision of Federal authorities prohibits the investment of the working capital of this bank in realty loans which are encouraged by most banks supervised by State authorities.⁴⁹

This bank and the Binga State Bank, both of Chicago, are the most representative commercial banks which are owned and operated by Negroes. The commercial banking which these institutions are doing will bear the close scrutiny of Federal and State examiners. Business trained and experienced bankers are employed for the safe and proper conduct of the affairs of these banks.

Other commendable efforts could be included here, but space will not permit a further display. As has been indicated, only a few banks which are owned and operated by Negroes are profitably doing a commercial banking business. Most of them are savings institutions which promote thrift, home ownership, and the buying of safe securities. And loans to such persons are not so profitable as those made by white banks to successful business men. The Negro borrowing to purchase a home generally removes the funds from the Negro bank to meet an obligation with a firm which immediately deposits it in a white bank. When a white man secures a loan at one of his banks the transaction, as a rule, merely involves an item of bookkeeping in giving some other depositor credit for the amount which

| <i>Resources</i> | | <i>Liabilities</i> | |
|--|-----------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| Loans and Discounts | \$ 888,709.74 | Capital Stock | \$ 250,000.00 |
| Overdrafts | 71.18 | Surplus | 60,000.00 |
| U. S. Bonds and Securities... | 276,090.60 | Undivided Profits | 9,216.66 |
| Other Stocks and Bonds.... | 323,433.73 | Unearned Discounts | 2,964.82 |
| Accrued Interest Due | 41,264.13 | Circulation | 225,300.00 |
| Real Estate, Furniture and Fixtures | 367,260.18 | Deposits | 1,458,779.83 |
| 5 per cent Redemption Fund | 12,500.00 | Other Liabilities | 105,367.81 |
| Cash and Due from Banks.. | 198,702.74 | | |
| Other Assets | 3,596.82 | | |
| Total | \$2,111,629.12 | Total | \$2,111,629.12 |

The officers are as follows: Anthony Overton, President; R. R. Jackson, Vice-President; Julian H. Lewis, Vice-President; Arthur J. Wilson, Cashier; Theodore A. Roane, Assistant Cashier.

never leaves its vaults. The white bank, then has the advantage of loaning and reloaning the same money again and again. Some Negro banks, however, seeing a chance for a more profitable use of their money, have recently been won over to the making of industrial loans. We shall see below what movement has encouraged these banks to broaden their service and thereby increase their profits.

IX. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF INDUSTRIAL BANKS FOR NEGROES

For more than a century, the State and Federal regulations for commercial and savings banks have prohibited the lending of money on a large scale to individuals, small tradesmen, clerks, and wage earners. Statistics show that only fourteen of every one hundred persons can qualify today at orthodox commercial banks for loans. Industrial workers who wished to borrow money from banks and who did not have marketable collateral were flatly refused. Single name paper, of course, was not particularly attractive. But since "character is the basis of every good loan," a great field of loan activity was being neglected by these commercial banks in refusing loans to ordinary wage earners.

Systems were being evolved whereby loans could be made on the basis of character and earning power. Of course, the amount of money which these wage earners were qualified to borrow was dependent upon their current earnings. These loans also have been considered wise only when the money is used for helpful or constructive purposes, and when the repayment of the loan can be arranged so as to match the borrower's current earnings.

At any rate, these industrial loan companies were organized to cater to a neglected class of borrowers. Institutions of this type have for more than a century figured conspicuously in banking among European countries. In the United States, they had not made much progress before 1910. One company alone today, however, operates more

than a hundred industrial banks in the metropolitan centers of the United States.

Among Negroes, the Peoples Finance Corporation of St. Louis, Missouri, was the first industrial bank organized to cater to these neglected wage earners. This industrial bank was established in October, 1922, by the late Geo. W. Buckner, Daniel W. Bowles, Chas. E. Herriot, E. L. Harris, and other far-sighted business and professional men of St. Louis, who saw the need for a bank which would serve better the purposes of the industrial classes. They also believed that opportunities for buying property, paying taxes, interest notes, insurance premiums, and other necessary expenses could be met by extending credit to borrowers whose paying habits were unquestionably good. Year after year this industrial bank has grown in size and importance until its capital is \$200,648.08 and its surplus and reserves \$56,312.09. Today it is the leader in this field among Negroes with resources to the amount of \$537,385.37.⁵⁰ It has also been the inspiration for the establishment of two other industrial banks among Negroes in St. Louis as well as the organization of industrial banks in Cleveland, Detroit, Kansas City, Newark, and many other large cities where Negroes are making progress. That these institutions supply a pressing need is attested by a statement of C. C. Spaulding, president of Mechanics and Farmers Bank, a commercial institution, that "on account of lack of commercial enterprises among Negroes, industrial banks and building

**" FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF THE PEOPLES FINANCE CORPORATION
OF ST. LOUIS**

| <i>Resources</i> | | <i>Liabilities</i> | |
|------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------|
| Cash | \$ 4,722.80 | Investment Certificates | \$ 91,381.80 |
| Bonds and Securities | 2,000.00 | Notes Payable | 14,000.00 |
| Loans in Force | 180,457.27 | Rediscounts | 8,750.00 |
| Accounts Receivable | 875.74 | Dividends Payable | 1,348.90 |
| Treasury Stock | 70.00 | Mortgage on Building | 170,000.00 |
| Real Estate | 331,648.59 | Capital | 200,648.08 |
| Furniture and Fixtures | 15,980.10 | Surplus and Reserves | 85,990.11 |
| Copyrights | 1,000.00 | Reserves for Depreciation | 20,321.98 |
| Prepaid Charges | 680.87 | | |
| Total | \$537,385.37 | Total | \$537,385.37 |

The officers are: Chas. E. Herriot, President; J. E. Mitchell, Vice-President; W. H. A. Barrett, Vice-President; Geo. H. Anderson, Secretary; Edw. L. Grant, Assistant Secretary; E. L. Harris, Treasurer; Daniel W. Bowles, Chairman, Finance Committee and Counsel; Arnet G. Lindsay, Vice-President and Manager.

and loan associations are better adapted to Negroes than commercial banks." With more than a half million dollars in resources, the People's Finance Corporation, of St. Louis, is rapidly reaching the place where it can adequately meet the pressing demands for credit among qualified wage earners.

Encouraged by the phenomenal success of such institutions, many of the commercial banks not only among Negroes but also among whites have either established industrial loan departments or have organized subsidiary corporations to cater to the neglected wage earners. This movement was given unusual impetus and importance when the largest bank in the United States⁵¹ announced in May, 1928, that after more than a century their policy of limiting loans to qualified commercial borrowers had been broadened so as to lend money to the industrial worker, the clerk, and all qualified wage earners. Time alone will tell to what extent this movement will be carried into strictly commercial banks and of its effect on existing industrial banks.

X. THE DUNBAR NATIONAL BANK FOR NEGROES

Notwithstanding this movement for industrial banks, the establishment of the Dunbar National Bank in New York City by the Rockefeller interests, September, 1928, represents the most recent financial opportunity for Negroes. For many years, Negroes of this metropolis have been attempting to organize a bank which would supply their needs, but many obstacles have been encountered in so doing. The rigid bank requirements of New York State were never met by the many promoters who essayed this rôle.

Realizing the dire need of Negroes for banking accommodations and knowing also that the establishment of a bank for the 100,000 Negroes of New York would be a profitable venture, the Rockefeller interests formed the Dunbar Bank in New York City. And although the Negroes of this me-

⁵¹ National City Bank of New York City.

tropolis cannot yet point with pride to a bank which is owned and operated by Negroes, they have a just pride in the Dunbar Bank which is organized and operated for them. At present, one Negro, R. C. Bruce, is a member of the board of directors. Two other Negroes, Fred R. Moore and Robert R. Moton, have recently become members. As time goes on many other Negroes, according to the present president, will be placed in positions of responsibility. Negroes are now employed as tellers, clerks, bookkeepers, and typists. To say the least, these opportunities are valuable in that they afford an experience for these employees to learn the banking business from a most dependable source. As they gain experience and become informed along banking lines, they branch out elsewhere for themselves.

The total resources of this bank amount to \$1,893,554.77, admittedly an adequate amount to protect depositors. Most Negroes have confidence in this organization. They have expressed their faith in the bank by changing their accounts from those with which they have been dealing for years. White depositors have also availed themselves of this new opportunity to save their money and invest their surplus funds. According to their most recent report, \$757,440.27 has been placed in the Dunbar Bank for safe-keeping and investment.

By being a national bank, this institution has become a member of the Federal Reserve System. It is attempting to render a personal service to depositors, urging them to be thrifty, to buy property, and buy marketable bonds. Already several promotions have been made in the personnel. Along with the personal service which is being rendered, the financial development and advancement of the Negro is receiving much momentum in New York City.

The advisability of establishing such an institution for Negroes, however, has been seriously questioned by some Negroes as well as by whites. The advantage of Negroes of having the Dunbar Bank organized for them has also been discussed *pro* and *con*. It ought to be said, however, that

already the Negro has been the chief beneficiary of these efforts of the Rockefeller interests. At the same time, the promoters of this bank are receiving their due compensation, a fair return on their investments. As time goes on we shall probably know the real value of this bank to Negroes for whom it was organized.

Summing up all of these banking efforts for and by Negroes, the writer draws the following conclusions:

1. That the first efforts of Negroes to lend money and do a private banking business were successful but inadequate for the needs of the people.

2. That the mutual and cooperative efforts of Negroes before the Civil War were steps in the right direction, but they died natural deaths when war intervened.

3. That the attempts of military authorities and other friends of the Negro to establish banks were encouraging and beneficial to the freedmen as well as to the free persons of color.

4. That the so-called governmental aid which was given in establishing the Freedmen's Bank proved to be an almost insurmountable obstacle for the Negroes who later attempted to organize banks of their own.

5. That the pioneer efforts of Negroes to establish private banks from 1888 to 1900 were short lived and very unsuccessful.

6. That those banks which were the outgrowth of fraternal societies bearing their names made rapid progress and were assured of lasting success had they been honestly and efficiently managed.

7. That the revival of interest in the establishment of more commercial banks from 1900 to 1910 is deserving of commendation because the banks which were then established played important parts in the Negro's acquisition of property, particularly in the South.

8. That the present situation of Negro banks definitely shows that only a few of them are successfully engaged in

the commercial banking business because of the fact that there are not enough Negro commercial enterprises to support these institutions.

9. That the largest and most profitable field for banking service for Negro institutions is unquestionably the industrial loan field, which up to this time has been seriously neglected.

These conclusions are the result of much study, close observation and practical experience in the field of banking. To many persons, such a study may be discouraging because of the large number of failures which have been noted. But, it must be remembered that the actual life of a bank is not more than twenty-five years. Either by merger, reorganization or some other engulfing, banks after this time generally lose their original identity. All of this information is being brought together not to embarrass, certainly not to discourage those who will be patient enough to read this treatise, but that the lessons which surely have been learned from the unsuccessful operations of Negro banks may prove helpful and beneficial to Negro men and women who dare enter the field.

ARNETT G. LINDSAY

*Vice-President and Manager of the Peoples
Finance Corporation
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI*

INSURANCE BUSINESS AMONG NEGROES

I. HUMBLE BEGINNINGS

Insurance companies have been more prosperous than any other large enterprises among Negroes. They have had productive soil in which to develop. The very temperament of the Negro has lent itself to such efforts among them. Belonging to an enslaved and oppressed group, Negroes have naturally developed the attitude of helping the needy and providing for the unfortunate. Negroes are the most generous people on earth. They seldom turn a deaf ear to the appeal of the poor, and they usually give out of proportion to their income.

This tendency toward mutual helpfulness appeared even among the slaves. Wherever Negroes had their own churches benevolence developed as the handmaiden of religion. They looked out for the sick, provided them nourishment which the common fare of the plantation did not afford, and often nursed and treated such patients until they were reestablished in health. Free Negroes of the South were well known for their mutual helpfulness. In case of death they provided for the burial of the indigent. Here and there in urban communities were efforts at more thorough organization of a secret kind, but such could not develop very far without drifting into antagonism to the interests of the slaveholders.

The Negroes on free soil had much more opportunity for promoting such societies, although they were handicapped by scattered population and lack of opportunity to make a living. In large cities of the North, like Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Cincinnati, however, these organizations reached a stage of unusual influence in the churches and sometimes expanded into secret associations, a thing which could not be done in slave territory. Then came also independent secret bodies like the Masons, established

by Prince Hall, and the Odd Fellows, organized by Peter Ogden.

After the emancipation of the whole group the church in its new freedom gave ample opportunity for the unlimited development of benevolent societies among the Negroes. Inasmuch as these former bondmen had been turned loose upon society without preparation to maintain themselves independently, large numbers of them easily fell as victims of poverty and disease. In some communities as many as from twenty-five to forty per cent of the Negroes died, and this so frightened their friends and pleased their enemies that some predicted that the race would soon become extinct.¹ The Freedmen's Bureau and the Freedmen's Aid Societies came to the rescue, but these agencies could not reach the whole body of the needy; and, at best, their ministration was temporary. The Negroes in the final analysis had to learn to look out for themselves. The deep-seated idea of solving a social and economic problem through benevolent societies, then, seemed more practical than ever.

Here, too, the Negro preacher was the natural leader. He had more influence than any other person in the community. Furthermore, he had a constituency to begin with, whereas any other worker would need to spend years seeking a hearing before an indifferent or uninformed public. For a long time, however, such societies necessarily restricted their operations to a circle of a particular church or group of churches in a community. The conception of the thing on a large scale had not yet appeared, local rivalry had to be overcome, petty jealousies needed suppression, capital was lacking, and business administration became a problem.

In spite of these difficulties, however, two factors largely contributed to the development of these societies. These were the celebration of holidays and the excursion idea which therewith developed. The freedmen practically mo-

¹ Taylor, *The Negro in South Carolina during the Reconstruction*, 12-14, and *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Virginia*, 42-43.

nopolized the celebration of holidays throughout the South during the reconstruction period. They made most spectacular displays on the twenty-second of September, the first of January, and the ninth of April, because the Emancipation Proclamation was announced on the first mentioned of these days, put into effect on the second, and made secure by the close of the Civil War on the third. The freedmen added thereto, moreover, the observance of the days on which were completed the ratification of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and the passage of the Reconstruction and Civil Rights Bills. But Washington's Birthday and the Fourth of July were also celebrated with so much enthusiasm that the feeble efforts of the whites paled into insignificance in the midst of the processions and festivities of the Negroes. In some cities, therefore, the whites temporarily abandoned the celebration of these holidays, giving as their sole excuse the overactivity and officiousness of the Negroes. The whites especially despised the Negro militia on parade because it reminded them of the sectional conflict and "Negro domination." On these holidays, therefore, whites went a fishing or otherwise idled and rested.²

The idea of parade appealed especially to the freedmen. They liked beautiful regalia; and, as most of these uniforms were Oriental like the Negroes themselves, the color of the freedmen harmonized with that of the festive attire. Thousands of freedmen, who otherwise would not have joined these societies came into them for the mere display. The militia in a manner supplied such a demand, but this was not sufficient. There was a need for more lieutenants and captains, for more colonels and generals. The former slaveholding class of the South had unduly indulged in these things. What freedman, then, would not want to assume the air of such importance? The old and the young participated. Men, women, and children marched in the ranks of those to whom had been given the secrets of the East. Things hitherto kept from the poor and oppressed had been

² *Richmond Dispatch*, July 7, 1873.

revealed to all men regardless of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

The excursion idea gave just as much stimulus to the development of these societies. The news of the unusual success of these celebrations spread into remote districts. Freedmen who had never witnessed grand spectacles longed to see their own people of color in such momentous demonstrations. Furthermore, they would not only see their societies in action, but they would get a glimpse of urban life and enjoy things formerly forbidden to them by their masters when they had not freedom of locomotion.³ Excursion managers, who for selfish reasons went from place to place inducing the Negroes to go to these centers of celebration, however, unconsciously popularized the secret societies in small urban communities. Having seen and heard for themselves, it was easy thereafter for the organizers to reap the harvest of new memberships and large fees.

Fraternal organizations, therefore, supplied a new social need in the life of the Negro in a way that other agencies have not been so effective. In most cases the new organizations provided for both sexes, a thing which doubled their constituency. While they were secret in procedure and benevolent in purpose these fraternal agencies offered unusual opportunities for community effort, the promotion of racial consciousness, and the development of leadership. For this reason these fraternal societies were not at first welcomed by the whites. At times, they seemed to have a political as well as a social aspect. Assured later, however, that there was no political danger in these societies, the opposition from the whites not only diminished, but gave way to frequent press mention of their parades and general conduct and sometimes to high sounding praise.⁴

These secret societies sprang up here and there throughout the country, but immediately after freedom the largest

³ *The Richmond Dispatch*, July 5, 1878; King, *The Great South*, 580; and the *Journal of Negro History*, XI, 307-308.

⁴ *The Richmond Enquirer*, Jan. 2 and 3, 1867, and Feb. 12, 1869; *The Richmond Whig*, Aug. 30, 1871; and *The Richmond Dispatch*, July 18, 1877.

number of them tended to concentrate themselves in a certain section of the country. The State of Virginia, and especially the city of Richmond, proved to be the most fertile soil for this activity among the freedmen. They developed much more rapidly there than in other parts of the country. The parade and the social life of the freedmen probably made this territory the most conducive to such enterprises. The favorable attitude of the intelligent whites of Virginia toward the Negroes, too, probably secured to them an immunity from the attacks of a militant minority that elsewhere at that time made such a rapid development of secret societies among Negroes impracticable if not impossible.

The names of such societies which came and went like birds of passage need not detain us here. Only the most important require mention in this article. Among these, of course, appeared the Masons, the Knights Templars, the Odd Fellows, the Sons of Temperance, the Good Templars, and the Good Samaritans, in imitation of orders long since popular among the whites. The Negroes of Virginia, however, soon saw the need of organizations to perform a definite function among freedmen whose situation, made unlike that of the whites by law and custom, required social uplift effort different from that applied to persons otherwise circumstanced. Taking the initiative, then, the Virginia Negroes produced many a society which showed original thought and maturing judgment. Those which made the largest contribution toward the development of business among the Negroes, however, were the Independent Order of St. Luke,⁵ and the Grand United Order of True Reformers.⁶

Just as Virginia proved to be the mother of presidents and the mother of States, it also became the alma mater of these secret societies among Negroes in other parts of the country. The early records of the race do not show a large number of these in other parts at this period when they were legion in Virginia. Later, however, when Virginia

⁵ W. P. Dabney, *The Life of Maggie L. Walker*.

⁶ Richings, *Evidences of Progress among Colored People*, 337-339.

Negroes migrating to other parts carried thither these desires for social contacts and some knowledge of how to provide for them with similar organizations, such societies sprang up here and there in various sections of the country. These societies tended to develop in the direction of the South and West because many Virginia Negroes migrated to those sections during the first generation after emancipation.⁷

Sometimes these efforts were carried to the extreme and resulted in undertakings which were unwise. Many persons used such a pretext to impose upon the public. Unfortunately, there were few laws to regulate the conduct of fraternal societies, and they had not developed far enough to be classified as insurance enterprises. There were no legal requirements as to management or capital. Almost any man who did not care to work hard and had learned the general principles of secret society organization could start such a movement to create a comfortable berth for himself. Sometimes when the founder lacked judgment or did not have a sense of humor, both his organization and management descended to the ridiculous. For example, one man in Mississippi named his organization "The Knights of I Will Arise." Another in Alabama when asked the name of his society and the position which he held in it said that he was the "Past Crown Most Supreme Venerable President of the Universal Order of the Holy Knights of Canaan and the Brothers and Sisters of Consolation."

Emerging from this ridicule, however, these societies began to render the public a distinct service. In the first place, they obligated themselves to take care of the sick and to bury the dead. If an organization did not live up to this obligation it did not long hold the support of the community. Those that actually succeeded, therefore, had to perform duties faithfully. Later they assumed the obligation of, not only taking care of the sick and of burying the dead, but of giving the heirs of the dead a certain amount upon the death of a member. This was an important step toward

⁷ *The Journal of Negro History*, XI 336-340.

actual endowment. Unfortunately, however, in working out this insurance plan it was not often placed on a business basis. Aged and unsound persons who were poor risks were indiscriminately taken in, and the premium required was not sufficient for the amount of money promised at death. At the very beginning of these societies, moreover, no acute problem arose. Inasmuch as large numbers of members rushed in, the cash received was sufficient to pay all claims for a while, but a few years later when these people began to die after the rush had ceased the societies could not meet their obligations.⁸

To make up for this deficiency some of these societies devised the scheme of levying special assessments on all members to pay each death claim as each occurred. The amount ranged between twenty-five cents and a dollar for each member. This offered again an opportunity for imposing upon the public. Dishonest management in the central office sometimes proclaimed the death of persons who had neither lived nor died. This was the pretext under which a large fund might be collected and distributed among the dishonest persons in charge. Such evidence of robbing, however, were few and far apart; for those practicing it did not hold the support of the community long enough thus to impose upon the public, and laws regulating these societies soon followed.

With this freedom for development, however, these fraternal associations increased in favor throughout the country and forced themselves upon the attention of persons who had regarded them as objects of ridicule. A Negro secret society leader with a large constituency and a handsome bank account was sought by blacks and whites who had an eye to business. In the proportion as they developed larger membership there followed the necessity for conducting the business according to modern business standards. Money had to be accounted for and persons had to be employed to

⁸ This is an almost accurate account of the experiences of the earliest orders; and there were others which later came to the end of their course in the same way.

look after the general interests of the organization. They had to keep accurate accounts of all branches or lodges, and they in their turn had to account for all members to be assured of their status in case of sick or death claims. The funds accruing to the credit of the associations, moreover, required safe depositing and careful investment to inspire necessary confidence to keep the support of the public. The management of these associations, then, tended to assume more and more the aspect of the personnel of business establishments with certain popular leaders uniting administrative ability with wide social connections.

Considerable sums were lost by certain associations which were not thoroughly organized and efficiently managed, but these failures resulted in the systematization of the business of others which profited by the mistakes of the few. In most of the cases these losses were sustained not so much on account of dishonesty but largely because of the inexperience in administrative matters. The necessity for more thorough organization and adherence to up-to-date business methods became still more necessary when these fraternal organizations tended to emphasize less and less the ancient mysteries and developed more largely than ever into societies paying sick benefits and burial expenses.

II. ACTUAL INSURANCE

The first of these organizations to reach something like the insurance basis was the Grand United Order of True Reformers, mentioned above as having been organized in Virginia. This secret society emerged from the brain of a Methodist preacher, W. W. Browne, a native of Georgia. With a few persons who had the vision to see the wisdom of this effort he organized the society in his own residence in Richmond, Virginia. From this beginning the work was expanded by the founder throughout that city, into various parts of Virginia, and into adjoining States by means of branches or lodges known as "founts." The insurance feature of the organization was especially emphasized. This made this secret society outstanding in that persons thereby

not only received sick benefits but upon their deaths would leave a substantial sum for their dependents.⁹

This new step marked an epoch in development of insurance business among Negroes. Approaching the public with this additional claim for support, the order rapidly grew in numbers and in influence. It proved to be a business organization of unusual power. It established in Richmond, Virginia, a financial institution known as the True Reformers Bank, which cooperated closely with the insurance department of that order. This bank increased its prestige during the panic of 1893 by paying all claims presented to it when other banks in the city had to refuse. The work went forward, then, with unusual impetus. The True Reformers thereafter attracted a large membership requiring spacious halls for their special meetings and general purposes. The order built such structures not only in Richmond, but in other parts of the country.

Looking beyond the mere secret organization feature, however, Browne dreamed of uniting the Negroes in a great financial organization with the watchword of "combination, concentration and cooperation." The founder set up, therefore, a Real Estate Department, a Commercial Department with a chain of stores, and an Old Folks' Home, together with the Bank. But, unfortunately on the death of the founder unwise changes were made in the policy of the order; and, in addition, States in which they operated began to make strict laws to which they could not conform because of a lack of experience and training. The work continued for a number of years, thereafter, but on account of the failure to start with or to adhere to strict insurance regulations its debts could not be paid, and it was so weakened in various parts of the country that early in the Nineteenth Century it had been reduced to the basis of the average secret society without any particular achievement to its claim. The order lost its bank and the property which it held in practically all parts of the country.

⁹ Richings, *Evidences of Progress among Colored People*, 338; Washington, *The Negro in Business*, 110-114.

The insurance idea of the organization, however, lived to bear fruit in other quarters. The Grand United Order of True Reformers enabled other secret societies to learn by observation. All such bodies had to adopt the endowment feature to compete successfully with this advanced order. Lodges like the Masons, Odd Fellows, and Knights of Pythias began to emphasize this feature as a most important reason for accession to their ranks. The Independent Order of St. Luke developed along parallel lines with its popular appeal and organized its standard bank with Mrs. Maggie L. Walker, the first woman in America to be the head of such an institution. Under her direction this order with more experience and better trained workers than those of others overcame the difficulties which worked the undoing of the True Reformers. The Independent Order of St. Luke still carries on its insurance work, operates a printing plant, publishes a newspaper, and conducts a bank.¹⁰ The Gallilean Fisherman made a strenuous effort in this direction but did not reach the level of the St. Luke or the True Reformers. The Mosaics and the United Brothers of Friendship popularized these features among the Negroes of the Western and Southwestern parts of the United States and gave a new meaning to fraternal insurance among Negroes.¹¹

This fraternal insurance developed more rapidly, too, after the publication of works presenting the Negroes as poor insurance risks. Chief among these treatises was Frederick L. Hoffman's *Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro*, published in 1896. The author endeavored to show that because of social diseases, living conditions, and other undesirable circumstances, companies would be unwise to insure Negroes. Denied, then, the protection which these companies had offered them, the Negroes had to fall back on fraternal insurance associations which, therefore, flourished during these years whether they offered the same inducements or not. Some few white companies, like

¹⁰ Dabney, *The Life of Maggie L. Walker*, passim.

¹¹ Washington, *The Negro in Business*, 218-229.

the Metropolitan, however, never ceased to take Negroes; for they had learned from experience that Hoffman's conclusions were not based on facts.

It was very clear to a few Negro business men, however, that the Negroes were in need of a sort of protection which the nature and procedure of secret bodies could not offer. This was, then, the opportunity of the Negro insurance man. Such a company was organized first by Negroes in Philadelphia in 1810 with a capital stock of \$5,000, but it did not live. In 1892 there was organized in Washington, D.C., the Alpha Insurance Company with Mr. M. M. Holland as the moving spirit. This company conducted also a banking business. Connected with this enterprise were such men as R. C. Douglass, the proprietor of a dyeing establishment; Judge E. M. Hewlett, a lawyer, who for a number of years served as a judge of the Municipal Court of the District of Columbia; and James H. Meriwether, a prominent lawyer and real estate dealer of the city.¹²

From the True Reformers idea, however, came the successful insurance companies engineered by men who worked under W. W. Browne or who closely observed him in action. One of the most prominent of these men was B. L. Jordan, the moving spirit of the Southern Aid Society. While serving as an official of the True Reformers he caught a glimpse of greater possibilities in a more business-like organization to be operated with efficient workers and in strict conformity to insurance laws. He then left the True Reformers, and organized in 1893 the Southern Aid and Insurance Company, since developed and renamed as the Southern Aid Society, the oldest industrial insurance company operated by Negroes. This company followed the line of mutual benefit associations but it restricted itself to a small area to work it intensively. It operated only in Virginia and has not yet expanded its territory further than to include the District of Columbia and New Jersey with a capital stock of \$150,000. The wisdom of its intensive program is clearly seen, however, in the tremendous amount of about \$1,000,000

¹² Richings, *Evidences of Progress among Colored People*, 335-337.

worth of business it has been able to do annually, the \$400,000 paid each year in claims, the fine standing of the company in its sphere, and the unusually high value of its stock.¹³

Out of similar interests developed the Richmond Beneficial Insurance Company which absorbed the American Beneficial Insurance Company, organized by Dr. W. F. Graham about this time, but this insurance idea took deeper root and became productive of more significant results farther south, at Durham, North Carolina. It is said that the True Reformers never had a large following at that point, but upon hearing an exposition of principles of this order by their extension worker, John Merrick, Dr. A. M. Moore, and their coworkers set about doing something of their own in a different way. As a bricklayer Merrick moved among the poor whose improvidence impressed upon his mind the thought of doing something for their protection. As a barber for such rich men as Duke, the tobacco manufacturer, Merrick got a glimpse of greater things in the business world. With the cooperation of Dr. Moore, a product of the Medical Department of Shaw University, practicing daily among widows and orphans left penniless by thoughtless men, Merrick worked toward a plan for their relief.

This resulted in the organization in 1898 of the North Carolina Mutual and Provident Association which later has been changed to the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company with such cooperating agencies as the Mechanics and Farmers Bank and some interest later in the Bankers Fire Insurance Company. The North Carolina Mutual began as an industrial assessment insurance association. In 1909 it was reorganized as an old line legal reserve life insurance company, operated on the mutual legal reserve

¹³ In Richmond, too, there have developed other aid or benefit societies which are growing stronger and stronger as the years go by. Among these should be mentioned the Ideal Benefit Society founded by A. W. Holmes; the Order of Good Shepherds, presided over by Mrs. Ora Brown Stokes. The same influence may be seen in smaller enterprises known as the Independent Benefit Club, the Theban Beneficial Club, and the Star Light Beneficial Club.

basis without capital or stock.¹⁴ These agencies have put the small city of Durham on the map as a very busy commercial center kept alive by the business acumen of men like C. C. Spaulding, William G. Pearson, and J. M. Avery. The company's annual statement as of December 31, 1928, shows insurance in force of \$35,899,019.00; legal reserve or re-insurance fund, set aside for the protection of its policyholders, \$3,118,258.00; admitted assets \$3,319,583.15; and surplus, \$122,308.52. The North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company claims to be the only Negro company that operates a life extension department.

Another contemporary of Mr. W. W. Browne who grasped his idea and had the power of execution to make his dream of a gigantic business corporation come true was Samuel Wilson Rutherford. Before the True Reformers began to decline as a result of bad management following the demise of the founder, Rutherford began to work out a business structure of his own.¹⁵ In 1898, therefore, he started the National Benefit Life Insurance Company. To begin with he had six dollars and a rented room on the fourth floor of a building with a small table and a chair. From such headquarters he went among the poor Negroes of the city on a bicycle selling sick and death benefit policies and laid the foundation of what is now the largest Negro business en-

¹⁴ Andrews, *John Merrick, a Biographical Sketch*, passim.

¹⁵ Rutherford was born in Georgia not far from Atlanta in 1866. He attended day school only twelve months. He actually learned to read in a Baptist Sunday School. He spent his early life at rugged work on a farm and later supplied cord wood for fuel to the residents of Rome, Georgia. In this city he next became janitor of the local Singer Sewing Machine agency; and, developing some mechanical ability while thus serving, he was promoted to the position of repair machinist for the firm. He next became one of the founders of a weekly paper called *The Peoples Journal*, which was afterward sold to a church and published as *The Baptist Banner*, under the name which it still lives.

The turning point came in Rutherford's life when the Singer Sewing Machine Company made Rutherford a traveling salesman with headquarters at Lynchburg, Virginia. In this state he came under the influence of W. W. Browne, the founder and promoter of the True Reformers. He stood by the founder throughout these years and from him learned the secret of insurance and its possibilities among the Negroes.

terprise, the National Benefit Life Insurance Company.

This company made a modest beginning with a capital stock of \$2,000 restricting itself to sick benefits and death claims. It was an assessment organization however; for, in case of inadequate funds to pay these claims, the members could be assessed to meet such obligations. Later the company increased its capital stock to \$5,000, and in 1903 it began to write endowment insurance. In 1918 the company was reorganized on the old line legal reserve basis, increasing the capital stock at this time from \$5,000 to \$100,000. The company was able to do this as a result of a large income from operating on a conservative basis. \$45,000 of this additional stock was taken by the old stockholders, \$40,000 of which was a dividend changed into stock and the remaining \$50,000 was sold to the public. In 1923 the company increased its capital stock from \$100,000 to \$250,000, all of which has been fully paid. The surplus of this company today is \$140,438.51 and its legal reserve \$4,841,605.19. To perpetuate the company under race management the stockholders reached a unique trust agreement by which 52 per cent of the capital stock is deposited so as to be voted by four trustees.

And so runs the gripping story which may be made longer. The rise of Heman E. Perry and the impression left by the creature of his brain, the Standard Life Insurance Company, is a fascinating tale of which we shall hear later. Learning in the costly school of experience, the Negro business man since Perry's time has been wise enough to follow the teachings of the prudent and to profit by the mistakes of the improvident. Sympathetic white men have given assistance as advisers to these pioneers among a belated people, but their own experience in groping in the dark to find out for themselves has been their greatest asset although they had to pay dearly for it. The way of Negro insurance now is much clearer than a few years ago. The procedure is so well known and the methods so universal that there is little excuse for the failure of such enterprises. With an increasing confidence in such business Negroes have become a larger figure in it than any other enterprise.

III. THE PRESENT STATUS

Thirty-two Negro insurance companies qualified as legally organized have been reported by Mr. C. M. Hayes as being in operation in various States. The operations do not include fraternal insurance, which, although considerable in spite of its decline, can not be considered herein because of inadequate data and its changing status. Some of the organizations are unwilling to make such declarations.

The distribution of these companies with respect to the North and South is interesting. While such companies as the Liberty, Victory, and the Northeastern have sprung up in the North most of these enterprises are restricted to the South, and those in the North are found rapidly expanding their work into the South, where most Negroes are found, as the report herein quoted will show.¹⁶

¹⁶ States in which companies operate or are licensed:

AFRO-AMERICAN LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY, Jacksonville, Florida; in Florida and Georgia.

ATLANTA LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY, Atlanta, Georgia; in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kansas, Kentucky, Missouri, Tennessee, and Texas.

CITIZENS' INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE COMPANY, Jacksonville, Florida; in Florida.

CITIZENS' LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY, Indianapolis, Indiana; in Indiana.

CENTURY LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY, Little Rock, Arkansas; in Arkansas.

DOMESTIC LIFE AND ACCIDENT INSURANCE COMPANY, Louisville, Kentucky; in Kentucky and Ohio.

DOUGLAS INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE COMPANY, New Orleans, Louisiana; in Louisiana.

GIBRALTAR HEALTH AND ACCIDENT INSURANCE COMPANY, Indianapolis, Indiana; in Indiana.

GOLDEN STATE GUARANTEE FUND LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY, Los Angeles, California; in California.

GUARANTY LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY, Savannah, Georgia; in Georgia.

KING MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY, Edenton, North Carolina; in North Carolina.

LANCASTER MUTUAL CASUALTY COMPANY, Cincinnati, Ohio; in Ohio.

LIBERTY LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY OF ILLINOIS, Chicago, Illinois; in Illinois, Kentucky, Maryland, Michigan, and Missouri.

LIBERTY INDUSTRIAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY, New Orleans, Louisiana; in Louisiana.

LOUISIANA INDUSTRIAL LIFE, New Orleans, Louisiana; in Louisiana.

MAMMOTH LIFE AND ACCIDENT INSURANCE COMPANY, Louisville, Kentucky; in Arkansas and Kentucky.

NATIONAL BENEFIT LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY, Washington, D.C.; in Ala-

The accompanying report, however, must not be misunderstood. It does not give the statistics of all of the Negro insurance companies which are being operated in conformity with insurance regulations in the various States. This table does give such data from the largest and all of the old line legal reserve insurance companies organized by Negroes and from such other smaller companies as were willing to furnish these statistics. The writer does not understand why several promising small companies in Philadelphia were omitted, or why some space was not given to the Federal Life Insurance, operating in the District of Colum-

bama, Arkansas, Colorado, Delaware, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, New Jersey, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia.

NORTH CAROLINA MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY, Durham, North Carolina; in Alabama, District of Columbia, Georgia, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia.

NORTHEASTERN LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY, Newark, New Jersey; in Delaware, District of Columbia, and New Jersey.

O. K. INDUSTRIAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY, Shreveport, Louisiana; in Louisiana.

PELICAN INDUSTRIAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY, Shreveport, Louisiana; in Louisiana.

PEOPLES INDUSTRIAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY, Jacksonville, Florida; in Florida.

PYRAMID MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY, Chicago, Illinois; in Illinois and Missouri.

RICHMOND BENEFICIAL INSURANCE COMPANY, Richmond, Virginia; in the District of Columbia and Virginia.

SECURITY LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY, Tulsa, Oklahoma; in Oklahoma.

SOUTHERN AID SOCIETY OF VIRGINIA INCORPORATED, Richmond, Virginia; in the District of Columbia and Virginia.

SUPREME LIFE AND CASUALTY COMPANY, Columbus, Ohio; in Arkansas, District of Columbia, Ohio, Tennessee, and West Virginia.

UNDERWRITERS MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY, Chicago, Illinois; in Illinois.

UNION CENTRAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION, Birmingham, Alabama; in Alabama.

UNITY INDUSTRIAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY, New Orleans, Louisiana; in Louisiana.

UNIVERSAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY, Memphis, Tennessee; in Arkansas, Mississippi, Missouri, and Tennessee.

VICTORY LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY, Chicago, Illinois; in the District of Columbia, Indiana, Illinois, Maryland, Michigan, Missouri, Kentucky, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia.

COMPARATIVE STATEMENTS FOR THE YEARS OF 1925, 1926,
AND 1927.

| | Dec. 31, 1925 | Dec. 31, 1926 | Dec. 31, 1927 | Increase of 1927 over 1926 |
|--|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|----------------------------------|
| ITEMS | | | | |
| Income..... | \$12,236,618 | \$13,856,742 | \$16,594,505 | \$2,737,763 |
| Disbursements.... | 11,008,603 | 12,347,275 | 14,312,281 | 1,965,006 |
| Net Income..... | \$ 1,228,015 | \$ 1,509,467 | \$2,282,224 | \$ 772,757 |
| Gross assets..... | \$ 8,811,067 | \$11,170,791 | \$18,280,908 | \$7,110,117 |
| Admitted Assets.. | 8,562,516 | 10,155,219 | 15,498,237 | 5,383,018 |
| Capital Stock..... | 1,573,090 | 1,831,090 | 2,124,238 | 293,148 |
| Surplus Reserve... | 5,287,099 | 8,824,976 | 13,281,688 | 4,456,692 |
| Real Estate..... | 1,922,205 | 2,900,273 | 3,972,375 | 1,072,102 |
| CLAIMS PAID | | | | |
| Sick and Accident. | \$ 3,021,806 | \$ 3,093,056 | \$3,226,000 | \$132,944 |
| Industrial Life.... | 816,980 | 1,142,228 | 1,221,159 | 78,931 |
| Ordinary..... | 291,487 | 528,397 | 625,132 | 96,735 |
| Totals..... | \$ 4,130,273 | \$ 4,763,681 | \$5,072,291 | \$308,610 |
| CLAIMS PAID SINCE ORGAN- IZATION | | | | |
| (Estimated)..... | \$40,000,000 | \$44,763,681 | \$49,935,962 | |
| BUSINESS IN FORCE | | | | |
| Sick and Accident. | \$32,849,300 | \$50,451,537 | \$66,622,425 | \$16,170,888 |
| Industrial Life.... | 73,910,925 | 97,018,263 | 133,852,474 | 36,834,211 |
| Ordinary..... | 54,486,275 | 96,064,700 | 115,928,755 | 19,864,005 |
| Totals..... | \$161,246,500 | \$243,534,500 | \$316,403,654 | \$72,869,104 |
| BUSINESS WRITTEN | | | | |
| Sick and Accident. | \$16,096,199 | \$25,579,948 | \$29,094,320 | \$3,514,372 |
| Industrial Life.... | 33,777,189 | 49,264,815 | 74,224,685 | 24,959,870 |
| Ordinary..... | 21,052,706 | 45,332,428 | 29,864,255 | 15,468,173 |
| Totals..... | \$70,926,094 | \$120,177,191 | \$133,183,260 | \$43,942,415 |
| BUSINESS FORCE OF COLORED LIVES | | | | |
| Estimated..... | \$1,399,000,000 | \$1,925,000,000 | \$2,525,000 | |
| NUMBER EMPLOYED | | | | |
| Officers..... | | | 284 | |
| Clerks..... | | | 838 | |
| Superintendents and Managers.. | | | 474 | |
| Physicians..... | | | 2,983 | |
| Agents..... | | | 6,216 | |
| Totals..... | 5,330 | 9,100 | 10,795 | |

| | |
|--|--------|
| NET RATE OF INTEREST EARNED..... | 4.23% |
| Percent of Actual to Expected Mortality for 8 Legal Reserve Companies..... | 91.18% |

SALARIES

| | |
|--|-------------|
| Paid in salaries and Commissions to employees..... | \$6,137,967 |
| Total paid for printing and advertising..... | 229,973 |
| Total paid to Negro printers..... | 153,211 |

LIFE EXTENSION WORK

| | |
|---------------------------------------|----------|
| Total paid for Life Conservation..... | \$32,940 |
|---------------------------------------|----------|

bia under Mr. C. T. Taylor with a capital stock of \$25,000, and showing at the close of business December 31, 1928, \$30,153.29 in assets, \$24,980.39 in liabilities, and a surplus of \$5,172.90. Yet when we allow for a large increase from the 3,095 Negro insurance officials and agents reported by the United States Census Bureau in 1920, and note herein a report of 7,812 exclusive of physicians serving as examiners, we can judge how near this table comes to a proper presentation of the status of insurance among Negroes at this time.

The extent of the operations of these companies mentioned in the accompanying table may have some significance. Eighteen operate as local companies restricted to a single State, five do business in as many as two States, two in three, one in four, one in five, one in six, and two in eight, while the Victory Life Insurance Company has extended its operations to thirteen States, and the National Benefit Life Insurance Company to as many as twenty-eight. These operations would have been much more extensive than herein reported if certain handicaps could have been more easily overcome. The Negro insurance company has not expanded faster because of a lack of capital. In the impecunious condition of most Negroes an agent can sell one a policy more easily than he can sell him stock in a company to expand its business. Large numbers of Negroes, too, either because of their penurious condition or lack of confidence in the insurance companies, let their policies lapse and thus double the efforts of workers who must visit them and do their whole task of convincing them again of the importance of having such protection. Credit, too is

often a difficult problem for the Negro business man. Some companies, moreover, have deemed it advisable not to expand faster than the increase in efficient men qualified to assure success in the conduct of the business. Restricted formerly to menial pursuits in the main and educated at first along classical rather than practical lines, Negroes in large numbers have not qualified in this field. For some time then the business must suffer from the lack of efficient and scientific man power." The way of the Negro insurance has been made rocky by having to compete with white corporations which do not have this handicap.

The ability to overcome this handicap of lack of capital and efficient personnel has been well demonstrated by Anthony Overton in his organization and promotion of the Victory Life Insurance. After first making a record for himself as a manufacturer of toilet articles and as the founder of the Douglass National Bank, the first such institution started by Negroes, Overton organized in 1920 the Victory Life Insurance Company. He brought together sufficient funds to start out with a capital stock of \$100,000.00 and proceeded to write straight life insurance. The company began its operations in Illinois, but rapidly expanded to other States, including New York, where the requirements are very rigid. The company now operates in fourteen States. Its capital stock has been increased to \$200,000.00 and the business is rapidly expanding. At the close of business December 31, 1928, this company reported assets amounting to \$572,238.19, liabilities of \$340,824.53, and a surplus of \$31,413.66.

An equally interesting story might be told of others who have shown the ability to do unusual things in spite of handicaps. One may record the most interesting story of C. M. Hayes of the Gibraltar Health and Accident Insurance Company; of the Liberty founded by Frank Gillespie and expanded by Dr. M. O. Bousfield; of the Mammoth presided over by Mr. H. E. Hall; of the Afro-American which under the efficient management of Mr. A. L. Lewis is doing a fine business in Florida and Georgia; of the Atlanta founded by

the enterprising Alonzo F. Herndon, who built up this business conservatively in eight States after acquiring much wealth in real estate in various parts of Atlanta. The Supreme Life and Casualty and the Northeastern have so well solved the problems of incipency that they are planning for bigger things through a merger of tremendous possibilities in connection with the Liberty Life Insurance Company.

In view of the increasing activities of these corporations further inquiry into their condition will doubtless assist in their proper evaluation as factors in business among Negroes. The comparative statement for the three years, 1925, 1926, and 1927, compiled by Mr. C. M. Hayes, of the Gibraltar Health and Accident Insurance Company of Indianapolis, "shows an increase of two million, seven hundred and thirty-seven thousand, seven hundred and sixty-three dollars (\$2,737,763) in gross income over 1926, and a gain of thirty-six per cent (36%) in gross income since 1925. Disbursements increased one million, nine hundred and sixty-five thousand, and six dollars (\$1,965,006) in 1927 over 1926 and show a gain since 1925 of thirty per cent (30%). The net income shows an increase of seven hundred and seventy-two thousand, seven hundred and fifty-seven dollars (\$772,757) in 1927 over 1926, and a gain since 1925 of eighty-six per cent (86%).

"Statistics of the thirty-two companies listed show an increase during the year 1927 in gross assets of seven million, one hundred and ten thousand, one hundred and seventeen dollars (\$7,110,117) and a gain of one hundred and eight per cent (108%) since 1925; admitted assets increased five million, three hundred and eighty-three thousand and eighteen dollars (\$5,383,018) in 1927 and showed a gain of eighty-one per cent (81%) since 1925. An increase of two hundred and ninety-three thousand, one hundred and forty-eight dollars (\$293,148) was made in capital stock during 1927 and a gain of thirty-five per cent (35%) since 1925.

" 'Surplus-Reserve' to policyholders showed an increase in 1927 of four million, four hundred and fifty-six thousand, six hundred and ninety-two dollars (\$4,456,692) and a gain

since 1925 of one hundred and thirty-two per cent (132%). Real Estate showed an increase in 1927 of one million, seventy-two thousand, one hundred and two dollars (\$1,072,102) and a gain since 1925 of one hundred and one per cent (101%). Of three million, nine hundred seventy-two thousand, three hundred and seventy-five dollars (\$3,972,375) in Real Estate, two million, six hundred and eighty thousand, eight hundred and three dollars (\$2,680,803) was invested in Home Office Buildings.

“ ‘Business in Force and Claims Paid in 1927’ showed an increase of seventy-two million, eight hundred and sixty-nine thousand, one hundred and fifty-four dollars (\$72,869,154) in Total Business in Force over 1926 for all classes and a gain in Business in Force since 1925 of ninety-two per cent (92%), with only a gain in the total amount of claims paid since 1925 of twenty-three per cent (23%). The increase in claims for 1927 over 1926 being three hundred and eight thousand, six hundred and ten dollars (\$308,610).

“1927 showed an increase of sixteen million, one hundred and seventy thousand, eight hundred and eighty-eight dollars (\$16,170,888) in Sick and Accident business since 1925 of one hundred and three per cent (103%); and with only a sixty-seven per cent (67%) gain in Sick and Accident claims since 1925. The increase in Sick and Accident claims in 1927 over 1926 was one hundred and thirty-two thousand, nine hundred and forty-four dollars (\$132,944).

“1927 showed an increase in Ordinary Business in Force of nineteen million, eight hundred and sixty-four thousand, and five dollars (\$19,864,005) over 1926, a gain in ordinary business in force since 1925 of one hundred and three per cent (103%). Claims paid on ordinary business in 1927 showed an increase of ninety-six thousand, seven hundred and thirty-five dollars (\$96,735) over the amount paid in 1926, and a gain of one hundred and fourteen per cent (114%) in ordinary claims paid since 1925, the largest percentage increase in claims paid made in any class of insurance.”

Referring to the business written, Mr. Hayes says, “It

is also shown from the comparative statement that the increase in the amount of Sick and Accident business written in 1927 over 1926 was three million, five hundred and fourteen thousand, three hundred and seventy-two dollars (\$3,514,372) and a gain of forty-five per cent (45%) in the amount written in 1927 over 1926. The increase in Industrial Life business written in 1927 over 1926 was twenty-four million, nine hundred and fifty-nine thousand, eight hundred and seventy dollars (\$24,959,870) and a gain of one hundred and nineteen per cent (119%) in the amount written in 1927 over 1925. It is also shown from the comparative statement that there was fifteen million, four hundred and sixty-eight thousand, one hundred and seventy-three dollars (\$15,468,173) decrease in the ordinary business written in 1927 as compared with 1926, and that the gain in ordinary business written in 1927 over 1925 was forty-one per cent (41%)."

Mr. Hayes' comparative statement shows an increase in the number employed in 1927 over 1926 of one thousand, six hundred and ninety-five (1,695). Said he: "The net rate of interest earned on all investments for twenty-eight out of thirty-two reporting companies was four and twenty-three hundredths per cent (4.23%). The amount paid in salaries and commissions to officers and employees was six million, one hundred and thirty-seven thousand, nine hundred and sixty-seven dollars (\$6,137,967)."

"The amount expended for Life Extension work by members of the National Negro Insurance Association in 1927," says Mr. Hayes, "was thirty-two thousand, nine hundred and forty dollars (\$32,940), which was an increase over the amount expended in 1926 of twenty-two thousand, nine hundred and forty dollars (\$22,940). The per cent of Actual to Expected Mortality for eight of the companies reporting was ninety-one and eighteen hundredths per cent (91.18%)."

The treatment herein given has been of insurance among Negroes in general without clear distinction as to ordinary and industrial insurance. It is well to bear in

mind, however, the lines along which these efforts have developed. Reviewing the beginning, we have seen how the secret society taking care of the sick and burying the dead developed into the mutual association. The latter then became the industrial insurance company, and this in many instances paved the way to ordinary or the Old Line Legal Reserve insurance. Some of the companies write both sorts of insurance while others once industrial are gradually abandoning this field or have done so altogether.

The first Old Line Legal Reserve corporation organized among Negroes was the Standard Life Insurance Company of Atlanta, Georgia. This enterprise was founded by the energetic worker, Heman E. Perry. He was a man of vision and of much power of execution. While serving as an agent for a white company doing a large business among Negroes, Perry worked out in his mind a plan for a company of his own. He brought together all his own available money and proceeded then to appeal to others to buy the remainder of the necessary capital stock of \$100,000 to comply with the incorporation requirements of Georgia. He had unusual difficulty in interesting an adequate number in this large venture for persons who had never undertaken such a thing. Although he sold considerable stock he fell short of the \$100,000 required. True to his word, however, he returned every penny of the money to the purchasers with interest. This inspired confidence in him, and when later he made the second attempt to sell the required capital stock of \$100,000 he succeeded and started off under favorable auspices.

In connection with the company there soon developed a banking institution known as the Citizens Trust Company. This inspired more confidence in the enterprise. The Standard Life Insurance Company easily became the most stupendous undertaking of the kind among Negroes. Taking such pride in the successful venture, thousands of Negroes took out policies with this company. The company at first was conducted on a thoroughly business-like basis, the most efficient men available were sought, and others show-

ing promise of usefulness were trained at the expense of the company. Unfortunately, however, the investment of the funds of the company was unwise. The management tried to do too many things with inadequate capital. With the funds which should have been used to strengthen the insurance company as organized the director established the Gate City Laundry, the Service Construction Company to build homes for Negroes, and purchased the Mississippi Life Insurance Company when it was impracticable to make such an outlay in the face of a general slump in business. The result of these unwise steps was disaster to the whole enterprise. The Standard Life Insurance Company was taken over and sold by its white creditors. It went first to the Southern Life Insurance Company and then to another company in Arkansas.

These white men who had taken over this enterprise, however, had misjudged the temperament of Negroes. They believed at first that they had a gold mine. In this they were sadly mistaken. Few Negroes took additional insurance, and a still larger number either suffered their policies to lapse or surrendered them for their cash value. In a few years, therefore, it seemed that what value remained of the wrecked enterprise would soon be lost, and a new remedy was sought to protect the policyholders. The stockholders had already lost their investment.

At this stage of the situation there came upon the scene an unusual man of whom the business world had already taken account. This was Samuel W. Rutherford, the secretary-manager of the National Benefit Life Insurance Company of Washington, D.C., ably assisted by his efficient son, R. H. Rutherford, the president of the corporation. Wishing to render the public a service, these gentlemen listened to the overtures for the purchase of the once monumental enterprise which bad management had brought to grief. The National Benefit Life Insurance Company after a period of much negotiation finally reinsured the business of the Standard Life Insurance Company and assumed the full risk covered by the amount of assets that were turned over

to the purchaser. The world then acclaimed Samuel W. Rutherford as a great business man. And justly so as the completion of this deal saved thousands of dollars for Standard Life policyholders, their beneficiaries and heirs, which, without a doubt, otherwise would have been lost. Through the taking over of the business and the remaining assets of the Standard Life Insurance Company, the total insurance in force of the National Benefit Life Insurance Company was brought up to \$75,000,000 on the lives of more than 300,000 policyholders and made the National Benefit Life Insurance Company the largest enterprise in the world ever owned and controlled by Negroes. To handle its business, this company has a force of supervisors, agency directors, managers and assistant managers of over three hundred together with a regular agency force in the field of more than twelve hundred, using regularly the services of about six hundred medical examiners.

C. G. WOODSON

A TRAGEDY OF THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

Joseph Dudley, the third governor of Massachusetts under the Charter of 1691, granted by William III, was one of the most extraordinary characters which even Massachusetts ever produced. Born at Roxbury in 1647, the son of the old age of Thomas Dudley, the second governor (of the old régime) of Massachusetts, he was graduated at Harvard in 1665, intending to enter the ministry. He soon abandoned that purpose, and in 1672, was admitted a freeman of the Massachusetts Bay Company; and, entering politics, was in 1673, elected to represent Roxbury in the General Court and was reelected every year until 1676. Afterwards, he was elected to the upper house of the legislature, the court of assistants, being returned every year but one, till the charter was annulled by *scire facias* (undefended) in 1684. Until this time, the colony had been practically self-governing; and the real cause of the proceedings, first at law by way of *quo warranto*, and then in chancery in *scire facias* was the determination of the colonists to govern themselves in their own way, and their stubborn refusal to obey the directions of the ministry at Westminster, who desired to have the colony and its affairs administered in the manner most profitable for England. A great British statesman but the other day said that the real cause of the American Revolution was the idea of the Englishman that the colonist was an inferior, and the colony was an English "possession." This is undoubtedly true; and this spirit manifests itself in the whole course of the history of the American colonies—and this it was, that was at the bottom of the proceedings to cancel the old charter.

Dudley was not an extremist; he was rather moderate and did not inveigh at the destruction of the liberties of his country. From 1685 to 1689, the colony was ad-

ministered as a Crown colony. The magistrates took hold in 1689 and administered the colony much as they saw fit, with legal foundation but with little interference from England. Then a new charter was granted in 1691. After Phips and Bellemont had been governors, Dudley was appointed in 1702. He, by this time, had become an object of public hatred, from his conduct as president of the Council and chief executive of Massachusetts, and, indeed, of a large part of New England. He had been twice in England, M.P., for Newton and deputy-governor of the Isle of Wight; he had also been chief of the Council of New York, and a judge there. He had no little notoriety and obloquy from his conduct in the famous Leisler trial, and seems to have been called "Joseph the Jew." He was in hot water all the time with the recalcitrants there who could not get rid of the notion that they were just as good as Englishmen.

At the time of the circumstance which is the subject of this paper, he had made more than one raid on the French to the north with no great success; and had invoked and received the aid of the mother country to subdue them. His after history was stormy; but it is not germane to our purpose here.¹

¹ The extraordinary story of Joseph Dudley is very fully and very impartially told in a volume of the Harvard Historical Studies, *The Public Life of Joseph Dudley, A Study of Colonial Policy of the Stuarts in New England*, Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1911. The extraordinary charges made against him will be found in the *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Fifth Series, vol. VI, Boston, 1879. pp. 29-131. He seems to have been a man of much *savoir faire* and geniality, with very great capacity to handle men, White or Red. When it was said that no man could manage Indians unless he had eaten a bushel of salt, it was said of him that he "had eat mor as two;" and he was much in request when a deal was to be made with the Indians. Intensely unpopular as he was in Massachusetts, he was as popular in New Hampshire, another part of his government; and not withstanding powerful enemies who were always seeking his downfall he succeeded in retaining his governorship until the death of Queen Anne and the succession of King George I, when after a momentary triumph, he was superseded in 1715. He lived until 1720, when he died at the age of seventy-three, being buried at Roxbury with considerable pomp and ceremony.

Much may be learned of Dudley from an official volume published at London by the King's Printer, 1910, being Vol. II of *Acts of the Privy*

We are now to speak of a practice which, until comparatively late in the history of international law, was very common. I mean privateering. This was practiced by the nationals of a country that was not at war, who procured a commission from one of the combatants, permitting them to prey on the commerce of the other. This was only in name different from piracy; and it is well known that no few of these privateers became open pirates and more of them acted like pirates. The first open and official condemnation of this practice was apparently in a treaty in 1778 between the United States and France; but it continued in a sort of way until the "Declaration of Paris" in 1856, which contained the famous declaration "privateering is and remains abolished." The British plenipotentiary, Clarendon, described privateering as "organized and legal piracy" and "and one of the greatest scourges of war." It is true that the United States refused to adhere to this declaration,² as did Spain until 1908, Mexico till 1909,

Council of England, Colonial Series. We find him referred to on pp. 436, 437, 475, 476. His removal is asked for p. 520. It is interesting to see that Negroes, having been personal property in Jamaica, were made real estate by legislation, p. 560, while privateers were complained of frequently by the governor of Jamaica. For example, we find Sir Thomas Lynch, Feb. 14, 1683 complaining of "the Depredations committed by Certain Privateers pretending Commissions from the French Governor in Hispaniola," p. 45. And it was asked that these privateers should be ordered to distinguish between English and Spanish property, p. 46. Later on a pardon was announced "to all such Pirates and Privateers as shall render themselves to any of the Governors in His Majesty's Plantations in America," p. 153.

²To do justice to the United States, it should be said that the reason assigned by Marcy in his note of July 28, 1856, for not acceding to the "Declaration of Paris" was that the maintenance of a large navy was against its policy, and that consequently, it must look to the protection of the mercantile fleet unless and until the seizure of private property at sea was universally abandoned; and, he said, that privateers were not essentially more likely to disregard national rights than ships of an official nature. The United States in this matter exercised the undoubted right of an independent nation to govern itself in international matters according to its own views of intelligent self-interest, knowing that unthinking altruism has no place in such matters. The same disposition not to cooperate with other nations except on its own terms has been more than once manifested in its history—and not least emphatically in recent years in the matter of the League of Nations and the World Court. No one from this reason can find

and Venezuela has not come in yet; but there is no fear of the United States ever reinstituting the infamous practice, and the others, notwithstanding their company, are negligible. Mexico was the last country to give rise to fears that she was going into privateering after the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century; but when in 1839, she was talking of it, the French Admiral threatened to treat as a pirate ship, any Mexican privateer, the crew of which were not Mexican born to the extent of at least two-thirds. Then in 1846, when the Mexican government was sending blank commissions to privateer, and it was suspected even to London, the president of the United States advised the passing of legislation making the acceptance of these commissions, piratical—and there was no more trouble about it.

Of course, it was not only foreigners who got such commissions; for even after the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when most of the nations had a real navy, the right to commission his own subjects as privateers was not given up by any ruler, although there were many fulminations against the practice made by writers on International Law and by the statesmen of nations which suffered from the system.³

fault with the United States, or suggest any unwillingness that the ideas of humanity should prevail in international as in intranational affairs. The United States has never refused to enter into an agreement to lessen the horrors of war by any means not inconsistent with the rights of its own nationals—and that is but saying in other words that the United States is a civilized nation.

* An admirable account of the practice of privateering and the means taken to abolish it will be found in a recent work, *The Development of International Law* by Sir Geoffrey Butler . . . and Simon Maccoby . . . Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1928.

In a very interesting work written in 1854, and reprinted in 1928, we are told of an American vessel under Colombian colors landing on the coast of Africa and destroying the Spanish barracoons, *Adventures of an African Slaver*, p. 353.

It is not to be supposed that there was any shame attached to privateering, when it was in vogue; it was as glorious for a privateer to take a prey, as for a man-of-war to conquer an enemy. For example, many of the Nova Scotians to this day take pride in the privateering achievements of

In the early part of the eighteenth century, through various causes, the practice was still in full sway; and the privateers, little if any removed from buccaneers, did not confine their nefarious practices to the sea. Many a city and town near to or within striking distance of the sea found itself the prey of ruthless marauders; property was seized, amongst other kinds, slaves or those it pleased the brutes to consider slaves, while the unhappy owner could preserve his life, if at all, only by saying and doing nothing. The slaves and reputed slaves were carried off, and found a ready market in the colonies of England or of France—sometimes, indeed, but not so often, in those of Spain. There are several instances recorded, e.g., in New York in which persons who were in fact free—sometimes born free—were sold as slaves by privateers.⁴

the Blue Noses of the olden time. At the present time, there is being published in *The Canadian*, a literary magazine of Montreal, a series of "True Stories of Early Canadian Enterprise and Adventure, where the Rovers fought the Spaniards, four to one, and filled the port with prizes; Privateers of the Spanish Main." The first is about Captain Big Aleck Godfrey, "who feared the Lord greatly and man and devil not at all:" his exploits in the privateer, the *Rover*, have been celebrated by a well-known Nova Scotia literary man, who wrote in prose, but ascended sometimes to poetry, as in the following lines:

"Come all you jolly sailor lads who love the cannon's roar
Your good ship on the briny waves, your lass and glass ashore.
How Nova Scotia's sons can fight, you presently shall hear
And of gallant Captain Godfrey, in the *Rover* privateer.

ARCHIBALD MACMECHAN

And assuredly Big Aleck was a wonder. Leaving port June 4, 1800, he returned, July 4, with three prizes, all American, which he had taken away from their French captor in Lat. 24, where he fell in with a French privateer schooner with six prizes. The rest unfortunately got away, but Big Aleck did not do so very badly at that. Read the whole story in Dr. MacMechan's (not my) *Old Province Tales*.

"It may be remembered that in the "Negro Plot" of 1712, in New York, there were arrested and tried two persons, "one Hosea belonging to Mrs. Wenham, and one John belonging Mr. Vantilbourgh." They were convicted but reprieved as "these two are taken prisoners in a Spanish prize this war, and brought into this port by a privateer, about six or seven years ago and by reason of their colour which is swarthy, they were said to be slaves and as such were sold, among many others of the same colour and country." Soon after the arrival of Governor Hunter (who writes) in the government, he says—"I received petitions from several of these

From 1667 to 1696, unhappy Spain was almost constantly at war with France, the grasping Louis XIV endeavoring to dismember her and get possession of as much of her territory, as he could; and it would seem that he probably would have succeeded had it not been for the interference of England. Not content with the immense superiority of his armies, the ambitious monarch had many commissions of privateering issued to French, English and others. One of these privateers descended upon a South American coast and ravaged it. One of the results appears lurid in a petition presented to Governor Dudley and his Council early in 1790. The original, beautifully written, is now in the possession of a gentleman in Toronto; and it is here copied. It is probably quite without significance, but is only a curious coincidence, that the Governor was still in controversy over a direct charge made against him of having, in 1705, sent his son William with Captain Vetch to Canada under the pretence of redeeming captives there who had been taken by the French and the French Indians, and his emissaries had brought back only a few and them of the "meanest sort," leaving the principal prisoners behind to give them a pretext for going back again—and incidentally trading treacherously with the enemy. It cannot fairly be said that politics was less brutal in those days than in these.

The Petition reads:

TO HIS EXCELLEN^{cy} Joseph Dudley Esq^r Cap^t. General & Govern^r in chiefs in and over Her Ma^{ty}s Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, And To the Honb^{ls} Her Ma^{ty}s Council with sd Province. April y^r 12th 1709

Spanish Indians, as they are called here, representing that they were free men, subjects of the King of Spain, but sold here as slaves. I secretly pittied their condition but having no other evidence of wt. they asserted then their own words, I had it not in my power to relieve them." 5 *Colonial Documents, N.Y.*, p. 341.

On the matter being brought before the Privy Council at Westminster, an Order was made October 20, 1712, "for the pardon of Mars, a Negro, who had been twice tried and acquitted but condemned on a third trial and of Hosea and John, Spanish Indians, condemned for the conspiracy but reprieved by the Governor." 2 *Acts of the Privy Council of England, Colonial Series*, p. 666.

The Humble Petition of Emanuel Barselia a Spanish
mallata,

HUMBLY SHEWETH,

That your Petitioner being a Spaniard by the father & a native of Laberdecruse, was about Thirty one years past taken by the Privateers that took s^d Town, & altho the Town & prisoners were Ransomed by the Inhabitants, the Privateers caried off your Pet^r. being then ab^t. 18 years of Age, and sold him at Roanoke to one Coll^r Biggs for Sixteen Years. S^d Biggs & his Lady dying not long after & Leaving no heir, Governor Southeron Lord Proprietor took their estate & Yo^r Pet^r into his hand. Yo^r Pet^r he made Cheife Overseer of his Plantion and Promised him that he should be free according to his Indenture w^h yo^r Pet^r then gave into his Custody. Yo^r Pet^r. continued in the service of s^d Gentleman untill his time afores^d was well nigh out, alwayes holding the good Opinion of his sd Master in the station of overseer. But ere the expiration of s^d Time Gover^r. Southern (after much Trouble by one Coll Pollock a Gentleman in Roanoke) dyed, and sd Pollock seized his Estate & also yo^r. Pet^r. still continuing him Overseer of s^d Plantation wth Promise to free him when his time aforesd should be out. Yo^r Petition^r continued in the Service of Coll Pollock about fifteen years, often in y^e. Time puting him in mind of his promise, but received no direct answer, only sometimes would say, Why are you so Uneasy you want for nothing but Live as well I do, and I will give you my word of Hon^r you shall never Serve any other man. Your Pet^r being for the sake of his & Seven Children which are on sd Plantation, loth to incurr his displeasure still continued in his Service, but still as occasion offred complaining to the Gentry of the Place who knew the whole afair and advised him to Petⁿ Coll^r Cary the present Gov^r which Yo^r Pet^r did. That worthy person very Compassionately pittied yo^r Pet^r and advised him once more to demand his freedom w^{ch} if denyed he promised yo^r Pet^r all imaginable justice, Whereupon on New Years day last Yo^r Petition^r went from Roanoke to Virginia where Coll^r Pollock was retired for some disorders he had been guilty off, and demanded his freedom, but received no other answer then before, Whereupon Yo^r Petition^r again addressed the Gov^r who ordered that the matter should be Tried the last week in March now last past, & that the Queen's Attorney should Plead for yo^r Pet^r. But so it was that before s^d time for hearing arrived Mr. Henderson Coll^r Pollock's attorney (as he said by the Coll^r's order) violently seized your Pet^r and put him in Irons & so caried him on bord Capt Sanders to be sold for a Slave in New England. Nevertheless yo^r Pet^r believes himself happier that Providence has cast him into a place so fam'd for Piety & Compassion as this is, where he hopes to receive Justice in the premises, For altho he differ in Coulor & Nation he is a Christian & was Born Ffree

HEE THEREFORE with all Humility throws himselfe at the feet of yo^r Excell^{cy} & Hon^{or} and with Tears beseeches you for God sake to consider his deplorable Condition and that upon Your further knowledge of the truth of the pmisses, which many in this place can attest, Such measures may be taken as may free Your Poor distressed petitioner from the Slavery intended for him.

And Yo^r Pet^r Shall ever pray &c.

signed

Emanuel M. Barselia

Read in Council, Boston the 18th day of April, 1709, And Ordered that Mess^{rs} Daniel Oliver & Wm. Welstead, to whom y^e pet^r is Consigned be served wth a Copy thereof. And that they do not Transport or dispose of the Petition^r until the matters therein alledged be Inquired into & duly Examined.

H^a Addington Secry

IN COUNCIL

20th May 1709.

Read and Referr'd to her Majesty's Justices of the Superior Court of Judicature to Inquire into the Allegations therein made by the Petition^r for his freedom, And on Consideration of the Pleas and proofes by him to be Offered, to do what to Justice appertaineth

H^a Addington Secry

I have exhausted every means open to me to discover what the result was, but have failed. So far as appears, there is no record extant of the enquiry by the Judges and their finding. We may be permitted to hope that the much-wronged Mulatto was permitted to enjoy his last years in peace and liberty. In any case, this story throws a lurid light over the shameful practices of peoples who believed themselves to be civilized—the black man had no rights which the white man was bound to respect.

WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL

Osgoode Hall,

TORONTO,

September 6th, 1928

I have been favored by the Hon. John F. Cronin, Clerk of the Supreme Judicial Court at Boston, with the following:

We have on file his petition filed April 12, 1709, but have no record of any proceedings being taken on the same. We have, however, depositions filed with the petition by Walter Tanner and Thomas Southerland dated April 20, 1709, and a deposition by

Robert Sinclair dated July 26, 1709, all stating that Emanuel Barselia was a freeman.⁵ There is also on file a recognizance, viz:

"Joseph Jolly and Sebastian demornet free negroes of Boston in ye County of Suffolk acknowledged themselves indebted to meessires Danl Oliver and William Welstead of Boston merchants as attorneys or factors to Thomas Polluck Esq. of North Carolina in the summ of forty pounds money to be paid to the sd Oliver and Welstead qualified as aforesaid. Sealed with our seals dated this 29th of July 1709 the conditions of which is that one Emanuel

⁵ Since this paper was written, I have received from the Hon. Frederic W. Cook, Secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, a courteous letter dated at Boston, September 3, 1928, in which the following information is contained:

"I have had a search made in the files of the Archives Division and at the Massachusetts Historical Society for the original petition of Emanuel Barselia, a 'Spanish Molatto' dated April 12, 1709, but have not found it.

"The Executive Records of the Council under date of April 18, 1790, give the following:

"Upon reading a Petition of Emanuel Barselia, a Spanish Molatto lately consign'd to Messrs. Daniel Oliver and William Welstead of Boston Merchants, by Colo. Polluck of North Carolina to be sold alledging, that he is a Native of Laverdecruise, and by his Fathers side a Spanyard, that he is a Christian and free borne, was taken prisoner about thirty-one years past by Privateers, carryed to Roanoke and there sold a servant for sixteen years, has a Wife and seven children in the place, and being in a course of Law to sue for his Freedom, was by the sd Colonel Pollucks Attorney, violently seized, put in Irons and transported.

"Praying he may be heard, relieved and freed from his intended slavery.

"Ordered. That Messrs. Oliver and Welstead be served with a Copy of this complaint & Petition. And that they do not transport or dispose of the Petitioner until the matters alledged as aforesaid be inquired into and duely examin'd."

"With further action on May 20, 1709:

"A Petition of Emanuel Barselia a Spanish Molatto offered the 18th of April past, and an order then made thereupon to prohibit his transportation, was again reviewed, and referred to Her Majesty's Justices of the Superiur Court of Judicature to inquire into the allegations therein made by the Petitioner for his freedom. And on consideration of the pleas and proofes by him to be offered, to do what to Justice appertaineth." "

Thomas Southerland aged about twenty-four years Testifyeth & Saith that he very well Knew the above named Emanuel Bassiloo, a Spanish Molatto, who was always accounted by all persons to be a freeman, and that he was very ill-served in being made a Servant and Some Said if they had Known he would have been so served as to be sent away to be sold, they would have used their Endeavor to have prevented it, and that he was by all persons lookt upon to be a very honest man, and particularly Capt. Long, Judge of the Court, said if he had his Right, he is a freeman.

Signed
Thomas X Sutherland

Barselia a mustee or Spanish Molatto now in Boston shall appear at the next Assize in Boston viz in November next to answer the claim or challenge of the sd Polluck who challenges the said Emanuel as his slave death or extraordinary providence excepted. This was taken and acknowledged before me the subscribers this 29th of July 1709."

Joseph Jola (seal)
Sebastian themorrnud (seal)

Before me Paul Dudley Justice of the peace."

Gideon Florence aged about twenty-five years being one of the Vessell's Company, wherein the above-named Emmanuel Bassilio was transported to Boston Testifyeth to the truth of what is above Declared by Thomas Southerland.

Signed

Gideon X Florence

Boston, 20th April, 1709

Jurat Southerland and Florence
cor. Addington, J. Pacs.

Walter Tanner aged about forty years, Testifyeth and Saith That he hath lived about fourteen years in North Carolina where he very well knew one Emmanuel, a Spanish Molatto (now in Boston), said to be taken at L'aver de Cruse who lived with Col. Polluck, many years and all persons whom this Deponent ever heard speak of him, said he was a ffreeman, and when he was brought a Board the Sloop Mary of Boston, Samuel Sanders, Mast. in Irons to be brought to Boston all who knew it did Express their Concern & trouble for him that he should be so served in as much as he was a ffreeman by right & a very honest man.

Signed

Walter X Tanner

Boston, 20th April, 1709

Jurat, Cor. Addington, J. Pacs.

(NOTE: The affidavits of Tanner, Southerland and Florence and Florence are in the handwriting of Addington, J. P., that of Sinclair is not.)

Robert Sinclair of full age Testifyeth and Saith That he has known Emmanuel Bassiloo, a Spanish Indian in North Carolina about 15 months, and that he has heard several People there Say that the sd. Indian was brought in the Country and was bound by Indenture for 16 years, and that his time was out a great while ago, vizt. abt. 16 years—and that when the Deponent was there, the sd. Indian was going to apply himself to the Court to get his freedom, which when his Master's friends (in his absence) understood, they put him into Irons and hurried him away for Boston to be sold there, Nobody in Carolina being willing to buy him as Knowing him to be a freeman—the Deponent being there saw him put in Irons and further the Depont. saith that he sd. Indian or Molatto was reputed to be a very honest man & beloved by everybody.

Signed

Robert X Sinclair

Middx SS. July 26, 1709, Sworn to in the Superior Court of Judicature by Robert Sinclair.

Attest: Elisha Cooke, Cl.

(MEMO. This is obviously in Cooke's handwriting.)

DOCUMENTS

AN INSTANCE OF THE HUMANITY OF THE NEGRO

In 1793, there was a fearful outbreak of yellow fever in Philadelphia, then the capital of the United States. The epidemic taxed to the utmost the energies of all physicians. The most celebrated physician at the time in Philadelphia, or, indeed, in the United States, was Dr. Benjamin Rush, whose name and fame are by no means forgotten in the annals of the profession.

A letter from him, long unpublished but appearing in the *Magazine of American History* for January, 1891 (Vol. XXVII, p. 68), pays tribute to the humanity of the Negro population of that city—a well-earned tribute, which should be better known.

The letter reads as follows:

“DEAR SIR:

“Accept of my thanks for your friendly note and the interesting paper inclosed in it.

“The facts which I have reserved during our late calamity relate only to the origin, history, and cure of the disease.

“The only information which I am capable of giving you relates to the conduct of the Africans of our City. In procuring nurses for the sick, Wm. Grey and Absalom Jones were indefatigable, often sacrificing for that purpose whole nights of sleep without the least compensation. Richard Allen was extremely useful in performing the mournful duties, which were connected with burying the dead. Many of the black nurses, it is true, were ignorant, and some of them were negligent, but many of them did their duty to the sick with a degree of patience and tenderness that did them great credit.

“During the indisposition and confinement of the greatest part of the Physicians of the City, Richard Allen and Absalom Jones procured copies of the printed directions for curing the fever—went among the poor who were sick—gave them the mercurial

purges—bled them freely, and by these means, they this day informed me, they had recovered between two and three hundred people.

"I am the more pleased with the above communication as it sheweth the safety and simplicity of the mode of treating the disease, which they politely said was generally successful. From, Dear Sir,

"Yours sincerely,

BENJN. RUSH

"October 29, 1793.

"P.S. The merit of the Blacks in their attendance upon the sick is advanced by their not being exempted from the disorder. Many of them had it, but, in general, it was much milder and yielded more easily to art than did the white people."

It is surely worth while, in these days of "every man for himself," to be reminded of deeds of simple and unassuming heroism, which must always remain without reward, and generally without recognition.

WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL

OSGOODE HALL, TORONTO

St. Andrew's Day, 1928.

THE LEARNED NEGRO

The article presented herewith is a transcription from *The Lutheran Observer* of Friday, August 25, 1848 (Vol. XVI, No. 31, pp. 134-5). It is evidently from the pen of the editor. *The Observer* began publication in Baltimore in 1831. In 1833 the Reverend Benjamin Kurtz, D.D., became editor and continued in that office until 1861. The *Observer* was published continuously from the date of its beginning until 1919, when as a result of a church merger it was combined with *The Lutheran*, which began in 1845, and continues under the latter name. The weekly church paper of the last century represents a vast and fruitful field of exploitation, largely disregarded by the general historian. The article here included is typical of much that can be gleaned from periodicals of this character.

Benjamin Banneker was born in 1732 in the vicinity of Elliott's Mills, some ten or twelve miles from Baltimore. His father was a native African and his mother was the daughter of Africans, so that there was no admixture of the white man's blood in his veins. By the industry and economy of his mother (a free woman), she was able to purchase the freedom of his father. In the intervals of toil, and when he had nearly reached manhood, he attended an obscure school, and learned to read and write and cypher. For years he was wholly destitute of books, but by close observation and unaided mental operation he was continually adding to his stock of knowledge. At the age of thirty years he had never seen a clock, and yet he made one without any instruction except what he gathered from his examination of a watch; and it proved to be an excellent timepiece. In 1787 he became acquainted with two or three books on astronomy, loaned to him by Mr. G. Ellicott, and from that time forward he devoted himself to the study of astronomy. He soon undertook the compilation of an almanac, and being without the requisite tables and rules, he commenced and had advanced far in the preparation of the logarithms necessary for his purpose, when to his great astonishment and joy Mr. Elliott furnished him with a set of printed tables. Banneker soon discovered important errors in both Ferguson's and Leadbeater's astronomy, and in his own memoranda (now preserved in the archives of the Maryland Historical Society in the new Athenaeum of this city), he corrected them. Those distinguished men of science would have stood aghast had they been informed that their learned and elaborate works had been reviewed and corrected by a free negro in the then almost unheard of valley of the Patapasco. In 1792 Banneker's almanac was published by Goddard and Angell in Baltimore. This almanac secured the approbation of the most distinguished men of science in this country, as "an extraordinary effort of genius," especially of Mr. Rittenhouse, of Pennsylvania. Banneker sent a copy of it to Mr. Jefferson, then Secretary of State under General Washington; remarking in a letter to him ". . . although you may have the opportunity of perusing it after its publication, yet I choose to send it to you in manuscript previous thereto, that you might not only have an earlier inspection, but that you might also view it in my hand-writing." The following is Mr. Jefferson's reply:

“Philadelphia, August 30, 1791.

“SIR: I thank you sincerely for your letter of nineteenth instant, and for the almanac it contained. Nobody wishes more than I do to see such proofs as you exhibit, that nature has given to our black brethren talents equal to those of the other colors of men, and that the appearance of the want of them is owing only to the degraded condition of their existence both in Africa and America. I can add with truth that no one wishes more ardently to see a good system commenced for raising the condition both of their body and mind to what it ought to be, as fast as the imbecility of their present existence, and other circumstances which can not be neglected, will admit. I have taken the liberty of sending your almanac to Monsieur de Condorcet, Secretary of the Academy of Sciences at Paris, and member of the Philanthropic Society; because I considered it a document to which your whole color has a right for their justification against the doubts which have been entertained of them.

“I am, with great esteem, sir, your most obedient servant,

“THO. JEFFERSON

“Mr. Benjamin Banneker, near Ellicotts’ lower Mills, Baltimore County.”

“After the adoption of the constitution in 1789, commissioners were appointed to run the lines of the District of Columbia, the ten miles square now occupied by the seat of government, and then called the ‘Federal Territory.’ The commissioners invited Banneker to be present at the runnings, and treated him with much consideration. On his return, he used to say of them, that ‘they were a very civil set of gentlemen who overlooked his complexion on account of his attainments, and had so far honoured him as to invite him to be seated at their table; an honor,’ he added, ‘which he had thought fit to decline, and requested that a side-table might be provided for him.’ ”

As a matter of curious interest, we transcribe the title of the Almanac. If it claim little of the art and elegance and wit of the Almanacs of Punch or of Hood, it is nevertheless, considering its history, a far more surprising and meritorious production:

Benjamin Banneker’s Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia and Maryland Almanac and Ephemeris for the year of our Lord 1792, being Bissextile or leap year, and the sixteenth year of American Independence, which commenced July 4, 1776. Containing the motions of the sun and moon, the true places and aspects of the planets, the rising and setting of the sun, and the rising, setting and something of the moon, &c., the Lunations, Conjunctions, Eclipses, Judgment of the Weather, Festivals, and remarkable days.

This much is Banneker's; then follow Goddard and Angell.

Also several useful tables and valuable receipts—various selections from the common place-book of the Kentucky Philosopher, an American sage; with interesting and entertaining essays in prose and verse—the whole comprising a greater, more pleasing and useful variety than any book of the *kind* and *price* in North America.

Banneker was a genius and a man of science. His letter to Jefferson abounds with clear and conclusive argument, and is written in a lucid and chaste style. The sentiments are manly and dignified, and yet modest and becoming. The whole production would not be unworthy of a Franklin or a Rittenhouse. It is too long for insertion here.

Besides his aptitude for mechanics and his ability as a mathematician, Banneker was an acute observer, whose profound and active mind was constantly receiving fresh accessions of knowledge and new impulses from what was transpiring around him. The observations, found in his record-book of memoranda, made on the velocity of sound; the convulsions of nature; the appearance and nature of the locusts; the habits of the honey-bee; lightning, thunder, storms, &c., prove him to have been a man who deserved to rank high among the sons of science; and indeed high respect was paid to him by many of the scientific men of this country.

“In 1804, Banneker died, in the 72d year of his age, and his remains are deposited, without a stone to mark the spot, near the dwelling which he occupied during his life-time.”

There are several persons now living who still recollect Banneker well. Mr. Benjamin E. Ellicott, of Baltimore, writes thus respecting him:

“During the whole of his long life he lived respectably and much esteemed by all who became acquainted with him, but more especially by those who could fully appreciate his genius and the extent of his acquirements. Although his mode of life was regular and extremely retired, living alone, having never married—cooking his own victuals and washing his own clothes, and scarcely ever being absent from home, yet there was nothing misanthropic in his character, for a gentleman who knew him, thus speaks of him, ‘I recollect him well. He was a brave looking pleasant man, with something very noble in his appearance. His mind was evidently much engrossed in his calculations; but he was glad always to receive the visits which we often paid to him.’ Another of Mr. Ellicott’s correspondents writes as follows: ‘When I was a boy, I

became very much interested in him (Banneker) as his manners were those of a perfect gentleman; kind, generous, hospitable, humane, dignified and pleasing, abounding in information on all the various subjects and incidents of the day; very modest and unassuming, and delighting in society at his own house. I have seen him frequently. His head was covered with a thick suit of white hair, which gave him a very venerable and dignified appearance. His dress was uniformly of superfine drab broadcloth, made in the old style of a plain coat, with straight collar and long waistcoat, and a broad brimmed hat. His color was not jet black, but decidedly negro. In size and personal appearance, the statue of Franklin at the Library in Philadelphia, as seen from the street, is a perfect likeness of him. Whenever I have seen it, it has always reminded me of Banneker. Go to his house when you would, either by day or night, there was constantly standing in the middle of the floor a large table covered with books and papers. As he was an eminent mathematician, he was constantly in correspondence with other mathematicians in this country, with whom there was an interchange of questions of difficult solution.' "

BOOK REVIEWS

Towards Nationhood in West Africa. By J. W. DEGRAFF JOHNSON.
(London: Headley Brothers, 1928. Pp. XII, 158. Price three shillings and sixpence.)

This book is an appeal of young Africans to the youth of Great Britain for the recognition of African traditions on the Gold Coast. It aims to voice the sentiment of such organizations of young Africans as the Union of Students of African Descent and the West African Students' Union, which "are correlating lines of thought and action." While only a section of Africa is herein presented with this ideal the author, nevertheless, says that the hope and desire of Africa are the same throughout the continent. "It is concentrated," says he, "in the great yearning for freedom, for emancipation from the yoke of the centuries. The youth of Africa everywhere, is assailed by the alluring thoughts of a free Africa, of an Africa that owing no foreign burden, but stepping into her rightful place as a unit in the powerful army of the human family, will emerge from the darkness of the past and assume her obligations and responsibilities as a respectable and respected member of society."

The first task to be performed in this effort toward nationhood in Africa is to change the attitude of the white man toward the educated African. The white man must realize that the natives have faculties for reasoning, and must let the Africans think for themselves. The white man must not expect the educated African to approximate the European in life, conduct, and ideas. The white man should not be surprised when he finds the literate African conducting himself in much the same way as his illiterate brother. There should be little fear of the African becoming "denationalised" in coming into contact with modern civilization in its natural habitat. The author dismisses this idea as silly. On the contrary the "educated African is more capable of an African orientation and hence it is that he often finds himself in disagreement with policies and methods laid down for his 'guidance and progress' by those who do not share that orientation." Well might it be said, then, that the educated African especially when trained in Europe, "is unduly suspicious of all that the Government does, that he is intensely embittered and can only spit mud and poison, and that

consequently it is difficult for the Government to appraise at their proper valuation things said and done by him." The point is that it is difficult to Europeanize even the educated native and why should a reasonable person expect it? "One might as well ask if 400 years of Roman rule converted the early English into pseudo Romans. They spoke and wrote Latin and imitated Roman manners, but they never became Romanized in nature. Race characteristics are not obliterated simply because a man becomes adapted to another civilization."

The African being a man, then, should be treated as a man. Public functionaries show no inclination to do this, and even the missionary's Christianity yields to unjust man-made-laws and regulations. "Before the barrier of social etiquette the missionary pauses ere he practices brotherhood with the dusty-skinned African. And yet in the supposed paganism of Africa are fundamental truths not incompatible with the teachings of the Christian faith. In religion, in morals, and in the social structures, African institutions have proved themselves sufficiently advanced to meet the needs of the times. Europe appears to have assumed too much responsibility in laying down rules of conduct for Africa—rules of conduct which in the homes of the originators themselves have not been proved infallible, and some of which have created in the Western World and impasse in social conditions, difficult to bridge and so far unknown in Africa. The time has arrived therefore to introduce the principle of rationalization in the methods of work in Africa. The time has arrived when African thought and faith should be built into the structure of national stability and accepted as forming part of the philosophy of life."

Cameos from the Kraal. By M. W. WATERS, L.L.A., Author of *Nongqause, Ukukanya; The Light.* (Lovedale Institution Press, 1928. Pp. 58.)

This little collection of folktales is unfortunately bound in paper, but it contains so many interesting stories of value to the student of African life and customs that it deserves attention. Variants of these stories may be found in other parts, but this very fact makes them more valuable to the investigator. The value is further enhanced by their first-hand reproduction and by the crude drawings of an uneducated native who thus visualized the tales of his own land.

The author lives in Kaffraria among natives of an acquaintance of many years. These stories came from Africans along the Xuka River, which winds along the base of the Drakensberg Mountains. The chief informer in this case was the owner of a heathen kraal, the powerful Xunu, the great Xosa story-teller. Other stories are from Makulu, the grandmother; and from Mlungu, the wanderer.

At the very moment the author arrived and requested Xunu to tell these tales he was in the act of relating them to an appreciative audience of his own group. Story-telling in Africa, it should be remembered, is an outstanding custom. An expert at it easily gets a hearing, and there are certain natives who make of it a profession. At the close of the day's labor the natives gather around the story-teller for entertainment very much as we today go to the moving pictures in the evening. At times of great feasts these tales are rehearsed in a fashion somewhat like our plays and pageants.

In these stories sometimes the animal is a man, and just as often the man is an animal. The stories, however, will illustrate the mind of the African in the early stages of his development, and at the same time they show that these natives had many ideas which are as intelligent as many which we today consider sound. The most interesting of the stories are about the Jackal. He is the cunning fellow who works all sorts of tricks on the Oom Wolf. These tales appear as "The Feast of the Meats," "The Feast of the Fruits," and "The Marriage Feast." Another explains "Why the Jackal Laughs at Night," and the last of this series tells "Why the Tortoise Moves so Slowly." In the second part of the book are found "The Battle of the White Eagle," "The Winter Tale," "The Story of the Native Doctor," "The Story of the Mpundulu, or Lightning Bird," and "The Story of Mfene, the Rain Doctor." In the third part of the book we find out "Why some Men are Black and some are White," "Why Dogs sniff at one another's Tails," "How it is that the Secretary Bird is the Wisest of all Creatures," and "How the Monkey got his Tail."

Suicide Problems. By FREDERICK L. HOFFMAN, Author of *Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro* and Consulting Statistician of the Prudential Insurance Company of America. (Newark, New Jersey: The Prudential Press, 1927. Pp. 270.)

This book is a reprint of articles which have appeared in different publications during the last thirty-five years. The chief objec-

tive of such articles, according to the author, "has been to make the facts of our suicide experience more conveniently accessible to insurance companies and the general public." The author discusses such aspects of the problem as the suicide rates of various countries, the motives, heredity, the criminal aspect of the act, the sex ratio, religious restraint, and the race factor. The book contains statistics from the registration areas in the United States and foreign countries. In many cases, however, so many facts are not yet known that the author is very careful in warning against sweeping conclusions. He concedes that most of these things require further investigation. In this he shows that he is much wiser today than he was when he published his unwarranted conclusions in his *Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro*.

According to Mr. Hoffman, primitive man rarely commits suicide. Yet he says that suicides among slaves have not been uncommon. Here he fails to take into account the facts that the slaves are only a part of the population, and they are forced into a disadvantageous position. The Negro being regarded as primitive, then, would naturally show less frequency of suicides than the Teuton overlord. The author gives as an illustration of this point that in 1924 the white suicide rate of Georgia was 9.6, while that of persons of African blood was 1.6. In Louisiana it was 9.0 for the white and 2.7 for the Negro. In Mississippi it was 4.8 for the white and 0.9 for the Negro. In South Carolina 6.2 for the white and 0.5 for the Negro. "For the registration States in 1924," says the author, "the rate for the Negro population was only 3.6 while the white rate for the same States was 13.0." The author does not find that the Negro suicide rate has recently increased; but he contends that a more thorough assimilation of the Negro to American standards will bring this to pass.

"Our Negro population," says he, "has for many years shown a much lower rate of suicide than the white population. For all practical purposes, our Negroes live in much the same manner as the white. They have about the same religious connections, enjoy about the same civil status, and to a large extent are reasonably well enough educated to comprehend the difference between right and wrong. If, therefore, the Negro suicide rate is decidedly lower than the white, I feel it may safely be attributed to racial influence rather than to the American environment. In different reviews of the suicide rates for American cities I give the rates for the two

racess. Thus, for the period 1909-1913, in my discussion of the question in the *Reference Handbook of the Medical Sciences*, I give a table according to which the suicide rate of the white population for the Southern States for that period is 11.3 and for the colored, or Negro, population only 3.3. For certain Southern cities the disparity in the rates, however, is less. Such individual cases of Negro suicides that have come to my attention have rather indicated that the act was committed under the influence of alcoholism, jealousy, or religious frenzy. As the Negro becomes more and more thoroughly assimilated with the American population, an increase in the suicide rate may be expected."

Nationality, Color, and Economic Opportunity in the City of Buffalo. By NILES CARPENTER, Ph.D., Professor of Sociology in the University of Buffalo, and Associates. (Published under the direction of the Committee on Publications of the Roswell Park Publication Fund of the University of Buffalo in co-operation with the Inquiry, 129 E. 22nd St., New York, 1927. Pp. 100. Price 50c.)

This publication was the result of cooperative enterprise. It was undertaken in 1925. At first the plan was to limit the study to a survey of a number of typical local industries and to "interviews with employers, leaders, and workers among the major ethnic groups of Buffalo." Later for good reasons, however, a number of auxiliary investigations were inaugurated and carried out by students under Prof. Carpenter's direction. These were "The Negro Worker in Buffalo Industry" by Mrs. Mary Wesley, assisted by Mr. W. W. Strange; "The Relation between Income and Nationality and Religious Experience of 1,300 Women Clerical Workers" by Miss M. E. Wagner; "An Inquiry into the Attitude towards Negroes and Immigrants of a number of Trades Unions," by Mr. Daniel Katz, the work of whom was supplemented and compiled by Miss Gwendolyn Doughton; and "Case Stories" by Miss Eva T. Ravnitsky.

The data collected cover the various aspects of the community as they present themselves to one seeking the background of things. There is an effort to find out exactly what nationalities live in Buffalo, where they reside, how they are situated, what they do, the attitudes of employers toward these various elements, the relations of the one to the other, the experience of these workers, the influence of trades unions, miscegenation, and social antagonism.

The conclusions of the editor with respect to the Negro worker require attention here. He finds that the Negro and immigrant are economically disadvantaged, as compared with the native white of native white parentage. He finds also that the Negro is more seriously handicapped than the immigrant, the latter showing a tendency steadily to advance to a higher level, while the Negro seems still to be confined within narrowly circumscribed limits. Although the Negro migrant is better adjusted than the non-English-speaking immigrant who has to learn the customs of the country, the Negro migrant does not advance as fast as his competitor. The Negro, therefore, must "be suffering from disabilities that more than offset his great and obvious advantages."

Seeking a possible explanation of this situation the editor says, "These other disabilities may be the result of some inherent racial lack. They may be the result of an acerbation of opposition and discrimination on account of his color. They may be the result of both. Whatever their causation, they exist; and the Negro remains largely limited to the ranks of unskilled labor, while the immigrant is putting the abler, and more aggressive of his group, and particularly his sons and daughters, into skilled work, labor-supervision, clerical and managerial work, and proprietorship."

"The Negro in Buffalo is probably economically better off than his brother in the cotton fields and tobacco plantations of the South. If he were not, he would not be migrating hither at the rate of around 1,000 per year. But relative to his white fellow worker—whether of native or immigrant stock—he remains on the lowest step of the economic ladder. A long-continued régime of restricted immigration, coupled with industrial expansion, may give him an opportunity to follow his Irish, German, Polish, Jewish, and Italian neighbors upwards. His northward migration is, in a sense, evidence that he is doing so already. How far he can go, only the future can tell."

NOTES

The friends of the Association will be grieved to learn of the passing of Gertrude Sanborn, the author of *Veiled Aristocrats*, brought out a few years ago by the Associated Publishers. Her home was in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. She was one of the few white people in this country, who have tired of such fiction as that which portrays the life of the lowly Negro as it is done in works like *Porgy*. She believed that the talented tenth of the race should have a hearing. To become acquainted with the Negroes she lived among them in the East and West. She learned not only how the Negroes move on in this earthly procession but saw at the same time the gross injustice of the wrongs from which they suffer. The result of this experience was this novel. *Veiled Aristocrats* may not rise to the level of the best written fiction of our day, but the intentions of the author were lofty and sincere. So many readers of the book failed to get the point of view of the writer and proceeded to lecture her as to how the task should have been done. She was intensely interested in the betterment of the conditions obtaining among Negroes, however, and maintained this attitude down to her death.

We are shocked to have report also the death of Miss Geneva E. Jackson, a life member of the Association and a faithful worker in the development of the Kansas City Branch. She was born in Boston, attended its public schools, and completed the college course at Radcliffe. During her career she taught Romance Language in the Lincoln High School in Kansas City and at the West Virginia State College. Officials of both of these institutions found her a woman of rare culture, personal charm, and generous spirit—an excellent teacher.

Miss Jackson was unlike most Negroes who lose their bearing in being educated in the North in the doctrine of the "glorious superiority" of the Teuton and the "lamentable inferiority" of the African. She never permitted the fallacious teachings of biased professors to undermine her faith in her own people and her interest in their welfare. Wherever her lot was cast among them she always made herself useful. Although occupied in another field, she devoted much of her time and means to the work of the Association, which is poorer today because of the departure of this great soul.

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THE PARTICIPATION OF NEGROES IN THE GOVERNMENT OF VIRGINIA FROM 1877 TO 1888

The field covered by this paper embraces what is known in Virginia history as the Readjuster Movement. This development was an outgrowth of the Civil War and of the reconstruction that followed this upheaval. No state suffered so much from the ravages of war as did Virginia. For four years the armies of the North and South made its soil their battle ground, and the records are convincing proof that when Petersburg had fallen to Grant and Lee's army had surrendered at Appomattox, Virginia in her utter desolation was not unlike devastated Belgium or Northern France, when the German army had been pushed over the Rhine.

The havoc wrought by war made the building of a new, free Virginia a far more difficult problem than the rehabilitation of other Southern States. Of the problems to be solved, a most important one, was that of the bonded debt of the State. For many years prior to 1861, Virginia had borrowed from its men of wealth and from Northern and English capitalists. This borrowed money had been used in the construction of railroads and canals designed to promote internal development. In 1861 the bonded debt of the State was \$33,000,000.¹ With the outbreak of hostilities

¹ Pearson, *The Readjuster Movement in Virginia*, p. 3.

payment of interest on these bonds was suspended, and after the Civil War unpaid interest increased until in 1870, the indebtedness of the State was \$45,000,000.²

The State legislature made repeated attempts to meet its obligations through increased taxation; but one-third of Virginia had now become the State of West Virginia, and it would seem fair that West Virginia should assume a fair proportion of the debt, but it failed to do so. Each new administration devised new schemes by which taxation of Virginia citizens might be made to meet the interest on the debt, but each year saw the debt increased by still more unpaid interest, for the poverty of the war torn State made large collections through taxation impossible.

In 1879 this condition of the finances divided the State into two hostile factions—debt payers or Funders and debt repudiators or Readjusters. Out of the contest emerged a new political coalition which finally took the name of the Readjuster Party. Its life was short, but its rise was more significant than its industrious maligners would have us believe. It is not the purpose of the writer, however, to defend the political principles of the Readjusters, but, since contemporary testimony attributes the success of the party to the loyal support of Negro voters, it is proper that we study the motives compelling the Negroes' attachment to this party and the part played by them in accomplishing the aims of the movement. It might also seem, that if our inherent instincts teach a high respect for the obligations of contract, and if we hold in obloquy those who refuse to pay just debts—in this day of sympathy for France or Belgium, and our wartime allies—it may be possible to understand and possibly to justify the principles of the Virginia debt repudiating party of 1879.

The Funders, or debt payers, were often described as the best element of Virginia aristocracy. They were largely the former governing class, many of whom owned state bonds and persistently urged that their just debts be paid. The

² Pearson, *The Readjuster Movement in Virginia*.

Readjusters were portrayed as the poor whites of the State, most of them penniless, but with these were to be found also representatives of the old aristocracy of the State. The Readjusters were able to demonstrate that taxation went almost entirely to pay interest to the fortunate bondholders, that educational institutions and public schools were pauperized by diversion of school funds, and that for lack of proper institutions the insane were forced into public jails. They demanded that schools and public institutions should first be established and bondholders be forced to sacrifice their interests or to wait their time. Sacrifice had already been forced on many citizens. Their Negro slaves had been taken from them, and not one penny had been paid to them in return. It seemed equally as fair to force sacrifice on the owners of bonds as on the owners of slaves.³ It worked doubly disastrously, however, because some of the bondholders were former slaveholders.

W. L. Royall, giving a description of the elements of the white population that made up the reform party, said, "There were also a very considerable contingent to be drawn from the ranks of the white people. There were the worthless, the shiftless, and the impecunious, who are always ready to go into any movement that promises change, There was a numerous body of respectable men who thought that as the United States Government had forcibly deprived them of their slaves, on whose credit the money had been borrowed, the United States Government ought to pay the debt, There were the old broken down Virginians of the better class who simply could not perform field labor in the hot sun, because they had not been reared to it, and they could not commence in their advanced years. Of these some preferred repudiation, rather than to labor for the bondholder," He says also, "there were the teachers in the public schools—these permeated every

³ Massey, *Autobiography of John E. Massey*, pp. 99-271; Morton, *The Negro in Virginia Politics*, pp. 79-98; Pearson, *The Readjuster Movement in Virginia*; Royall, *History of the Virginia Debt Controversy*.

neighborhood. The taxpayers coupons had diminished their salaries."⁴

It seems possible that few of the old aristocrats supported the party of repudiation, but such distinguished names as, James Barbour, William E. Cameron, and John S. Wise, are to be found among the leaders of the cause.⁵ These, men of property and good birth, were convinced that payment of the existing debt was impossible, that public interest demanded partial repudiation, for debt payment defeated all efforts for progressive improvements. But Readjustment became a kind of crusade of the poor. These, the poor, had little sympathy for the former master class, and they saw themselves burdened with taxation, which seemed only to enrich the aristocrats while their children could not be educated. To the creditor, the Readjuster contingent seems best described as a "conglomerate party to set up a government for the state, of indecency, immorality, and vice."⁶

The success of this party of, "indecency, immorality, and vice," is attributed to the Negro voter, who is described as placing childish faith in unscrupulous demagogues who used the Negro to break the faith of the State.⁷ Facts herein presented, however, will show that the Virginia Negro did not serve as the dupe of the white demagogue, but that in this period, the Negro voter and politician, demonstrated rare forethought, independence of action, and a keen appreciation of their political interests. This criticism of the Negro Readjusters grows out of the old proslavery idea that Negroes exist solely for the good of the whites and when they show themselves otherwise they become undesirables.

The same author, in his effort to account for the Negroes' allegiance to the Readjuster Party, adds that "the debt had been contracted while he was a slave, and if he reflected at all, he would naturally feel little interest in the holders of

⁴ Royall, pp. 27-28.

⁵ Morton, p. 106.

⁶ Royall, p. 71.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 27, 32.

it,”⁸ It is entirely true that the Negroes held none of the state’s bonds and had as little sympathy for the bondholder as did the poor whites; but the Negroes were moved also by the consideration shown them in the organization and management of the party and by the definite pledges for relief from serious evils should the Readjusters come into power. The Readjusters said to the Negroes, “Put us in office and we will keep your schools open, pay your teachers, provide for your higher education, abolish the whipping post, and remove your insane from jails to a well equipped asylum.” And they did it. These were the motives controlling the Negro voters when they went to the polls in 1879.

In addition to this the Funder Party had done much to antagonize the Negroes. Senator Robert E. Withers, for many years the representative of the State in Congress and a staunch supporter of the debt-payers, thus boasted, “. . . . I thought the Petersburg meeting afforded a suitable occasion for raising the flag of the white race in the face of the large crowd of Negroes present. I took, therefore, an early opportunity to declare that in my canvass, I did not propose to ask, nor did I expect to receive the vote of any Negro, that however honest might be their purposes, they neither possessed information or intelligence to enable them to decide matters of state craft, and for this I did not hold them accountable. I said that Virginia had always been governed by white men, and I was determined to perpetuate their rule. This declaration was received with many growls of dissent from the blacks in the audience, but was vociferously cheered by the white men.”⁹

Robert L. Dabney, a Funder and a most powerful force in Virginia life at this time, moreover, published a long article on “The Negro and the Common School.” He “opposed the common school education of the Negro, according to the method employed in Virginia, on the grounds that

⁸ Royall, p. 27.

⁹ Withers, *Autobiography of an Octogenarian*, p. 249.

the Negro does not need it to fit him for the right of suffrage, since the Negro will soon be stripped of that 'right'; that education will not lift the Negro to competence to vote, if voting were allowed him; that the common school education will make the Negro worse, pave the way to idling and inefficiency in manual labor, and to immorality. He argued strongly that if contrary to this contention, the Negro should be lifted up by his education, then amalgamation of races would follow—a still more awful curse to the whole country.'¹⁰

What then was the attitude of the high priest of the Readjuster movement, a certain William Mahone? This new political figure was the son of a tavern keeper of Southampton County. As a boy he showed signs of rare intelligence, and through the charity of a planter he was sent to the Virginia Military Institute and trained as an engineer. With the outbreak of the Civil War, he was made an officer in the Confederate Army. He developed into a military genius and in the latter years of the struggle he became a major general. He was the defender of Petersburg at the battle of the Crater, and can be justly regarded as a kind of strong right arm to General Robert E. Lee. After the collapse of the Confederacy he devoted himself to the material rebuilding of the State. His services as an engineer were then in great demand by the railroads, and at such work he easily distinguished himself.

In 1877 Mahone was convinced that the debt-paying policy of Virginia should be changed, if there were to be further development of the resources of the state. In devising a plan to this end he conceived the idea of an alliance of the poor whites and the Negroes in a political union whose strength in numbers would destroy aristocratic control of the State. Much has been written of Mahone, but his biography is the work of his enemies. He is accused of contemplating "an insidious and far-reaching policy."¹¹

¹⁰ Johnson, *Life and Letters of Robert Lewis Dabney*, pp. 396-8.

¹¹ Withers, p. 379.

It is said that “. . . taking advantage of the debt problem, he built up a powerful political machine with the aid of the Negro votes, and dominated State politics.”¹² He is accused of “lack of political principles,”¹³ and the attorney for the Funders claims that General Mahone was “one of the most troublesome political agitators that has ever infested the domestic affairs of any people, . . .” that “he was astute and cunning, and he had tireless energy and absolute indifference to the opinion of the good.”¹⁴

Inasmuch as the Virginians followed this leader by a large majority in 1879 an inquiry into their political sanity would make an interesting study. It must seem strange to find an ex-Confederate general, courting the vote of the Negro, while other ex-Confederate leaders condemned such action and denounced the activity of Negro politicians. The student would like to know whether this man was the infamous demagogue plotting for self alone, or whether he, living in that day of rabid race hate, was an enlightened and farsighted student of public affairs, who unlike his fellows, saw farther than they and determined that white and Negro Virginians should work in political union for mutual good and for a better Virginia.

Royall, accounting for the solid support given by the Negroes to Mahone, says, “The Negro propensity as a voter is very singular. He always waits to find out how the great mass of the white people will vote, and he then votes in a solid body the other way. This presumably proceeds from the old relation of slavery. He is always apprehensive that the white man will re-enslave him, and he thinks the best way for making that impossible is to antagonize him on all issues, . . . Mahone had his Negro contingent solid, and beyond all danger from argument. Argument produces no more effect on a Negro mob than it produces on a grove of trees. The needy and impecunious whites were not of

¹² Morton, p. 97.

¹³ Pearson, p. 70.

¹⁴ Royall, pp. 23, 26.

the sort who are effected by argument any more than Negroes, There was very little to this election, or, indeed in any other in which he has participated, calculated to give encouragement to the philanthropist who hoped that the arming of the Negro with the elective franchise would put a weapon in his hands by the aid of which he would be able to better and advance his situation in life, In the thirty years of our experience, the Negro has in no instance used his right wisely: in no instance has his use of it resulted in good to him or to the public, and all the disasters which have overtaken him or us in that time have resulted directly from his possession of the right to vote. I have already remarked that the Negro never divides when an election comes on. This may be thought singular, but it is not. It is only a manifestation of his complete unfitness for the elective franchise, Secondly, he always votes solidly as the authorities of the Republican party direct. . . . There is no social law so rigorous or so cruel as that which the Negro applies to his fellows on this point. The Negro who votes with the white people on any point is at once made an outcast by his race.’¹⁵

The reasoning of this attorney is hard to understand, for it appears that Mahone, a professed Democrat and with the support of a large number of poor white Democrats, had won the loyalty of the great mass of Negroes, who are accused of blind loyalty to the Republican Party. Here we have an example of the ability of the Negro to forget a party name and to follow the leaders of a party that promises the promotion of his best interests; and, contrary to the opinion of the author quoted above, there is much in this election calculated to give encouragement to those who hope that the arming of the Negro with the elective franchise puts a weapon in his hands, with which to better and to advance his situation in life. It requires much imagination to believe that the Negro joined the Readjuster Party at

¹⁵ Royall, pp. 32, 36-38.

the dictates of the national Republican Party, but it does appear that Mahone and his Negro lieutenants, convinced the Negro voters that support of this movement was the best means to reform abuses already too long endured.

The accomplishments of the party are the proof that the Negro voters chose the wise part. Under General Mahone's clever management the Readjuster Party won complete control of the State in 1883, William E. Cameron, of Petersburg, was elected governor. His first message seems to show the recognition of the Party's debt to the Negroes, and may, also, be regarded as a manifest of inability to ignore their Negro partisans demands. Among other things, Cameron said in this message, "I believe that measures may be devised, and recommend that immediate action be taken, to preserve the school fund from future invasion, and to restore to it as speedily as practicable, the amount which has been diverted. Thus protected, and receiving regularly its rightful quota, the system is capable of great improvement, not only in number of schools and in length of term, but in provision for the higher education of all classes. I think it would be eminently proper to grant to our colored citizens an institution in which those who have acquired proficiency in the common schools may be given opportunity for broader training. The education of this class of our community is a duty which we owe not only to them but to the state. Self interest, if no higher motive, dictates that we spare no effort to fit for citizenship all upon whom we have conferred its privileges and responsibilities."¹⁶

Cameron asked also for the repeal of the constitutional requirement for payment of the capitation tax as a prerequisite to voting. He contended that, "in principle it is wrong and in practice debasing."¹⁷ The following acts of the assembly, moreover, may be regarded as typical of Re-

¹⁶ *Journal of the Senate of the Commonwealth of Virginia*, 1881-2, pp. 71-2.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

adjuster legislation. Each of these acts seems to show the strong influence of the Negro in party councils, and also gives evidence of the real co-operation of white men with the Negro faction of the party.

An act approved, January 26, 1882, reiterated, “. . . that whites and Negroes shall not be taught in the same school, but in separate schools, under the same regulations as to management, usefulness, and efficiency; and provided that any violation of these regulations which will impair the efficiency of the schools, or in any way discriminate in pay of teachers in the same grade of school in any school district, shall be deemed sufficient cause for the removal of the county school superintendent by the board of education.”¹⁸

An act approved, March 3, 1882, provided “for submission to the people of the proposed amendments to the constitution of Virginia in reference to the elective franchise and qualifications to office.”¹⁹ This amendment when adopted, abolished the capitation tax. Such a tax was designed by the former government to reduce the Negro vote. The Negroes as a majority, having just emerged from bondage with little preparation for freedom, could hardly earn sufficient money to buy necessary food, and most poor whites were likewise impecunious.

On April 21, 1882, a measure was approved, entitled “an act to repeal sections of the criminal code.” This act abolished the use of the whipping post as a means of punishment,²⁰ which had borne so heavily on the Negroes and poor whites who often found themselves helpless in the hands of aristocratic persecutors.

On March 6, 1882, there was adopted an act authorizing and directing the head of the Central Lunatic Asylum to contract for the erection, near the city of Petersburg, of

¹⁸ *Acts and Joint Resolutions of the General Assembly of Virginia, 1881-2*, Ch. 40, p. 37.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Ch. 203, p. 214.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Ch. 66, pp. 401-4.

suitable buildings for the accommodation of the insane Negroes of the state.²¹

On March 6, 1882, was passed another measure, entitled, "an act to incorporate the Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute, and provide for the support of the same." Among other provisions this act declared that "in the said institution there shall be taught such branches as are usually taught in the best normal schools of the country, . . . and, there shall be connected with the said institution, a college, and such professional departments, as the board of visitors may think expedient and proper, for the higher education of colored persons. In the college department shall be taught the classics, the higher branches of mathematics, and such other branches as are usually taught in colleges, . . ."²²

Without taking into consideration similar measures for the benefit of the poor white man of the state, these achievements are sufficient evidence of the wise party choice of the Negroes, and they are everlasting proof of the ability of white and blacks to work in political harmony for the common welfare. The people had won a great victory. The State government thereafter would be administered not for the few but for the many; and the relics of medievalism were abolished forever. The aristocracy did not like it, of course; and they have not as yet ceased to denounce William Mahone who evidently was a century ahead of his enemies.

For the constructive legislation mentioned in this paper, the Negro members of the assembly were in a large way responsible. The State Senate of 1881-2, contained thirty-seven members, three of whom were Negroes. The house of delegates contained ninety-five members, thirteen of whom were Negroes.²³ Senator Dan Norton and Senator

²¹ *Acts and Joint Resolutions of the General Assembly of Virginia, 1881-2, Ch. 244, pp. 246-8.*

²² *Ibid.*, Ch. 266, pp. 283-7.

²³ *Journal of the House and Senate, 1881-2, Bragg, (Letter of), Journal of Negro History, Vol. V, pp. 241-2.*

William N. Stevens, are said to have been men of much ability. In the lower house, Mr. A. W. Harris, of Petersburg, and Mr. R. G. L. Paige, of Norfolk, were leaders, both of whom were thoroughly educated men, and "few were the men in that house whether Democrats or Republicans, who could outrank them in oratory or debate."²⁴

Mr. Harris was the author of the bill providing for the establishment and maintenance of the Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute. This act provided that this state school should be placed under the control of a board composed of Negroes. Many State officials, at the time, expressed grave doubts that a great public trust could be confided to members of this race. Mr. Harris fought for this stipulation of his bill, and he won the point. In his efforts Mr. Harris had the hearty support of the Negroes of the State, and the journal of the house proves the persistence of Mr. Harris's efforts for the passage of this bill. On February 15, 1882, he very eloquently presented a petition of one hundred and fifty Negro citizens of the city of Norfolk, asking for the passage of the bill providing for the Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute, and on the next day, the bill was passed. On this occasion, 51 members, including the 13 colored men, voted for the measure, while 24 of the white members voted against it.

Mr. Harris's activities in behalf of this measure, may be regarded as typical of the activities of the Negro members

"NEGROES IN THE VIRGINIA STATE LEGISLATURE, 1881-2"

| Senate | House |
|---|-----------------|
| J. Richard Jones, Charlotte-Mecklenburg | E. D. Bland |
| Dan Norton, Yorktown | Littleton Owens |
| William N. Stevens, Sussex-Greenville | Armstead Green |
| | A. W. Harris |
| | Neverson Lewis |
| | Guy Powell |
| | Shed Dungee |
| | Batt Greggs |
| | Archie Scott |
| | Ross Hamilton |

²⁴ Bragg, op. cit.

of this legislature. Ross Hamilton shows a similar interest in behalf of the education of the Negro. Unlike Harris and Page, however, Mr. Hamilton had not had the privilege of education, but he is the author of the bill which when finally approved, declared that the Negro child and the white child should enjoy equal educational opportunities in the public schools and that no discrimination should be made in the pay of white and Negro teachers.²⁵

The legislation enacted, proves the able leadership of the Negro Readjuster politicians; but the rank and file of Negro voters showed an equal intelligence at the polls. They demonstrated a great appreciation of the interests then at stake and showed a remarkable fitness for the exercise of this civic duty. The evidence submitted in the contested election of *Massey vs. Wise*, seems to prove the above contention. In 1882 John S. Wise was the Readjuster candidate for Congressman at Large while his Democratic opponent was the Reverend John E. Massey, a renegade Readjuster. Wise won the contest, but his victory was largely due to the support of the Negro voters. The defeated Massey made wild claims of the corruption of the Negro voters in this election, but these claims could not be sustained by the evidence.²⁶ Under Mahone's able leadership, there had been formed a very complete organization of the Readjuster Negro voters, who could not be easily overcome. It was really a masterpiece of political workmanship which the opponents did not expect and with which they were unable to cope.²⁷

²⁵ *Acts and Resolutions*, 1881-2, p. 37; *Journal of the House*, p. 295.

²⁶ *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st. Ses., 48th Cong., 1883-4, Vol. XIV, Part I, II.

²⁷ This plan of organization is a case in evidence:

"Constitution of the Republican Coalition Club of Colored Voters."

"Republicans to whom this constitution is sent are requested to call meetings at the earliest practicable moment to carry out its objects."

A. M. LAWSON, *Chairman*

J. S. SAMMONS, *Secretary*

1st. The undersigned republican voters, hereby join themselves into a club, to be known as the Republican-Coalition Club of Earleysville precinct,

The voluminous evidence taken in this contest shows the earnestness with which the Negroes paid their taxes, cast their votes, and elected to office representatives of the Readjuster Party. This same volume shows the methods used by the opponents to drive out the Negro vote and demonstrates the obstacles the Negroes had to overcome.²⁸ In

Albermarle County, Virginia, and pledge themselves to vote for Hon. John S. Wise, for Congressman at Large, and Hon. John Paul for congressman for the 7th district.

2nd. The officers of the club shall be the president, secretary, and treasurer, and the club shall meet once a week, on a day designated by the club, and the president is authorized to call meetings, if deemed necessary, and special meetings shall be held on the two nights preceding the day of election.

3rd. The special order of the club shall be to enroll as many of the voters of the precinct as possible; to see that every voter is properly registered, and that transfers are procured for those voters needing them.

4th. To obtain these objects, captains of ten, selected from the best men of the club, in proportion of one captain for every ten registered republican voters, shall be elected, to see and canvass the voters of their respective neighborhoods, and impress on them the importance of obtaining the objects above indicated by thorough organization.

5th. At each meeting of the club the constitution of the club shall be read and the roll called; and each member of the club shall in answer to roll-call, state whether his capitation tax for the year 1881 has been paid. Upon the formation of the club the president shall at once forward to J. M. Lawson, county chairman, a roll of officers and members, and two weeks before the election report to the county chairman in writing the names of the members who have failed to pay their capitation tax.

6th. Every effort shall be made by the officers of the club to obtain from the registrar a copy of the registered republican voters of the precinct, and also a copy of the delinquent tax-payers, and at each club meeting, before which there is no speaking, public documents shall be read for the information of the voters.

7th. On the day of election it shall be the duty of the captains of ten, to be at the precinct when the polls are opened, to use every effort to influence lukewarm republicans and bring out every possible voter. The club shall select one of the best men certified, and none but thoroughly reliable men, selected by the club, shall be allowed to remain at the polling places as challenger, from sunrise until the vote is counted and to handle or to give out tickets." *House Doc.*, 1st. Ses., 48th Cong., Vol. XIV, Part I, Doc. 27, p. 161.

²⁸ "CIRCULAR
To Mr.....: Plan for paying capitation taxes.

At a meeting of the city conservative committee, held Friday morning,

Richmond, city officers belonging to the party of the old régime were required to give considerable sums as assessment to provide a fund to pay the delinquent taxes of voters pledged to support their party at the polls. Negroes were misguided and misinformed so that they might not qualify as voters.²⁹ Every unfavorable law or custom was construed

Oct. 6th, 1882, the following plan was adopted:

Relying upon the zeal and devotion of the democratic club of the city, and having important work that can best be done through them, the city conservative committee invokes their support and assistance in the successful prosecution of the following programme:

1st. Resolved that the secretary of the committee deliver to the ward clubs the copies of the WHITE registration books in his possession, and that he procure the lists of white delinquent taxpayers for 1881, and furnish the same to the ward clubs respectively.

2nd. That the clubs be requested to proceed *at once* to ascertain what registered democratic voters are delinquent for 1881, and make lists of the same. As soon as the club has a list of from 50 to 100 such names—true registered democratic voters—and makes certificate of the fact to the treasurer of this committee, the treasurer shall pay over to the said club the amount of money necessary for the payment of 100 capitations and make a proper receipt for the same, signed by the president and secretary of the club.

3rd. With the money so furnished, the clubs are urged to begin the payment of capitations at once, and as soon as they have obtained a batch of tax receipts, to deliver them into the hands of voters for whom they are intended." *House Doc.*, 1st Ses. 48th Cong., 1883-4, Vol. XIV, Part I, p. 58.

²⁹ The following testimony will give striking examples of the conditions confronting the Negro voter in Richmond, 1882.

"Testimony of William Blair, c'l'd.

"A. My name is William Blair, I am 42 years of age, I live at No. 407 Catherine St., Richmond City; I am a cook.

"A. I was not assessed and did not vote in the last election.

"Q. Did you try to get assessed, and if so state the full particulars?

"A. Yes, sir, I did, I tried for two days. The first day I was at Mr. Munford's office at 10:00 o'clock A.M. until 6:00 o'clock P.M. The policeman came to the door and said to me and to the crowd, 'you can go along away from here, there will be nothing done here tonight.' The next day I was at the office at 11:00 o'clock. The crowd was great and no opportunity for me to enter the office; I was on hand all day. It was filled each day, they were pressing in all day long. They were crowding all the time.

"Q. How long would it take to assess a man from your observation.

"A. They generally let in two or three at a time, and kept them there full quarter of an hour." *House Doc.*, 1st Ses., 48th Cong., 1883-4, Vol. XIV, Part II, p. 1246.

against them. Violent methods were employed to prevent the casting of the Negro vote. So true is this that John S. Wise is justified when he recites, "I charge that the spirit of bullying, threat and intimidation so prevails among your supporters in the city of Richmond that men were discharged by their employers for voting for me; that an intolerant, aggressive, and insolent spirit of ostracism and abusiveness prevails among your supporters in Richmond to the extent that it requires nerve and personal courage to openly proclaim opposition to the views and methods of your Bourbon allies in the city of Richmond; that spirit is so fierce that timid people are afraid to encounter it, and retiring and complaisant people shun its bitterness and re-

"Testimony of Joseph Delarne (white mechanic).

"A. At the assessors' office they assessed more whites than blacks; they put off the blacks as much as they could. They assessed the whites as quick as they could in another office through a window.

"A. . . . There were four or five colored men inside the office; they were asking them questions. There were two white men leaning in the window 'B'; they got their papers in three or four minutes. One of the clerks asked the colored men questions. They picked up one book and looked in it; they threw that down. Mr. Munford picked up another book and asked them where they lived. He then put that down and picked up another. . . ."

"Testimony of J. H. Gregory.

"Q. State your name, residence, occupation, and color.

"A. John H. Gregory; I am 30 years old; in Madison ward, Richmond City; I am a dyer; and a colored man, nearly white.

"Q. Please explain how you got your assessment papers.

"A. I got to Mr. Munford's office about ten minutes to three o'clock P.M. the fourth day of November, 1882. I found a large crowd of colored people at the office. The commissioner only let in one at the time, and not very often then. I went through the hall, and a white gentleman touched me and asked me if I did not want to be assessed. I told him I did, and then he told me to follow him. I followed him to the office of the clerk of the Chancery Court. We went through his office to a window which looks into B. B. Munford's office. I was assessed then without any trouble and no questions asked at all. I was not there more than two minutes.

"Q. Do you not believe that it was because they thought you were a white man entirely, and consequently a voter for John E. Massey that they assessed you so readily?

"A. I believe that." *House Doc.*, 1st Ses., 48th Cong., 1883-4, Vol. XIV, Part II, p. 1248 and 1282.

crimination by acquiescing in it, although at heart despising it."³⁰

In spite of all these efforts, however, the Bourbon element was still unequal to the task of routing their opponents. Mahone had done his work too well to be so easily overcome. The Readjuster movement, united the poor whites and the Negroes and broke down the conservative control of the State. It brought in a régime representative of the will of the majority of the people of the State, and when the party was later overthrown, the Democratic administration dared not to restore the old system. The Readjuster movement accomplished a revolution in Virginia. By 1883 the poor whites had won the objects that had led them to join in this movement. The aristocrats, however, inaugurated at that time a campaign designed to unite rich whites and poor whites in a white man's party. John W. Daniel, addressing an audience in the Southwest, boasted, "I am a Democrat because I am a white man and a Virginian."³¹ A white man's party held an irresistible appeal for large masses of the population. Vilification of the Negro now became a popular practice, and newspapers appealed to the worst passions of the people. Many of the old leaders deserted the Readjuster Party, but Mahone, the leader, stood firm and loyal to his Negro allies. Mahone had then declared himself a Republican and attempted to build up in the state a Republican organization composed of liberal whites and Negroes. While others denounced or vilified, this exceptional man, this great Virginian and the friend of humanity, declared before the Senate of the United States on January 29, 1884, "Virginia, Mr. President, has no cause for hostility against the colored people who form so large a part of her population. They are no more responsible for their freedom than they are for their presence here. They were invested with the rights of citizenship by grace of this nation. They are as essential to her fields of

³⁰ *House Doc.*, 1st Ses., 48th Cong., 1883-4, Vol. XIV, Part I, p. 60.

³¹ Morton, p. 119.

industry as the machinery of New England is to her factories. They are a factor in her life for which no other can be substituted, and between the races as between the classes there is a community of interest on which is dependent the happiness and welfare of all. The march of intellect and material progress—that wisdom and humanity ought to preserve.⁷⁸²

To the author, it would seem that with the skilful leadership of men like Mahone, the Republican Party might have been preserved for many years as an effective force in Virginia politics. Mahone seemed better able than any other to unite the liberal whites and the Negroes, but, at this time there came to Virginia an unusual personality. This man was John Mercer Langston. As the president of the Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute, Langston won in a remarkable way the loyalty of his students, and did much to organize and to build up the institution. Langston, however, saw in the political situation an opportunity by which a Negro might gain election to the Congress of the United States. He was admirably qualified to convince the Virginia Negroes that he was the man for Congress. He began a campaign, that aroused the Negro population of this district, as never before. The voters became wildly enthusiastic for him as a candidate, and Langston is accused of making the question of the right of the Negro voters to have a Negro representative in Congress the sole issue in his campaign. Mr. Langston won the race, but to do so he rebelled against the leadership of Mahone.⁸³ Frederick Douglass used his influence to defeat the ambitions of Langston, but this was to no avail.⁸⁴

To the Negro of today, however pleasing it may be to know that he has had a Negro Congressional representative from the State of Virginia, Langston's course must seem of doubtful wisdom. His action helped to antagonize the white

⁸² Sherman and Mahone, *Elective Outrages in Virginia and Mississippi*.

⁸³ Report No. 2462, *House of Representatives*, 51st Cong., 1st Ses., (Contested Election Case of Langston vs. Venable).

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-24.

and Negro Republicans at a time when unity might have been the preservation of the political influence of the Negro. With the passing of a few years, the Negro had been reduced to a negligible factor in the political life of Virginia. Langston seems to have helped hasten this regrettable development. While the great mass of Negroes were entirely for Mr. Langston, however, there were those who defied him. The following letter expresses this adverse criticism of his course:

Petersburg, Virginia
October 31st, 1888

To the Members and Congregation Worshiping at New Hope Baptist Church, Sussex County, Virginia.

BELOVED IN CHRIST:

Moved by a sense of the duty I owe you as your chosen pastor, I have refrained in the past from all participation in any political canvass, and my purpose to maintain this course of conduct in the present was fixed, until matters had taken such course, and reached such point that longer to hold my peace would be a dereliction of duty to myself as a man and to you as a pastor.

The enunciation lately made by Mr. Langston of war against every white man in this congressional district who shall dare to cast his vote against him for congress, first opened my eyes to the dangers to my race, which was sure to follow, if the threat of Mr. Langston was attempted to be carried out.

I could not hold my peace, and, impelled by the love I owe you I now do most earnestly warn you against giving your approbation to any such sentiment by affording the "aid and comfort" of your vote to the author of the sentiment. To vote for Mr. Langston now would be to endorse the sentiment which you must see, of necessity, will bring upon you the indignant reproach of every reputable white man in the district whether he be Republican or Democrat.

The color line could not be more distinctly drawn. To adopt the advice of Mr. Langston is to draw the color line more closely than ever before, and I ask you, is it not natural for the white man to turn upon you the doctrine which Mr. Langston would have you apply to the white man?

You are sensible people, you must know, that if left to yourselves, you must be the sufferers. It is your duty to cultivate the kindest, friendliest relations with the white man—not of war.

The Republican party has shown its disposition to recognize our race wherever by intellect or education, any has shown himself to be capable. Can you say the like has been done by the Democratic party?

Are you forgetful that Virginia Negroes enjoy larger political privileges, greater advantages of citizenship, than are vouchsafed to our race than in any other state? And do you not know that you owe this same to the very men against whom Mr. Langston would have you declare war? Do you owe Mr. Langston anything?

Have you forgotten that you owe to the very men whom Mr. Langston now vilifies, the right to vote without paying the dollar capitation tax? Do you owe Mr. Langston anything for this? Have you forgotten that to the very men upon whom he would have you turn your backs, you are indebted for free schools open as well to the colored child as to the white child, with colored teachers? Did Mr. Langston give you any aid in this behalf? Do you forget that you are indebted to the very men whom you are advised to ostracise for relief from the whipping post? Do you owe Mr. Langston anything for this? Do you forget that you owe to the very men whom Mr. Langston now traduces the right to sit in the jury box? Is this no privilege that you should cherish? Will you abandon those who invested you with this great privilege to aid Mr. Langston, to whom you owe nothing for the right? Does it show gratitude to the men who relieved such of our race as are lunatics from confinement in the common jails by providing for their exclusive use an asylum which in all its parts is the equal of the best asylum devoted to the whites by following the advice of Mr. Langston? Do you owe anything to Mr. Langston for the colored lunatic asylum? Have you forgotten the magnificent Colored Normal School, near Petersburg, by which colored men and women are fitted to teach our children and will you wage war against the men who have secured such benefit to you? Did Mr. Langston contribute anything to this great blessing to the colored people in Virginia?

He has been the recipient of the loaves and fishes, and he has contributed nothing. Have you lost all sense of gratitude for all these things that you should turn your backs upon men who have thus proved to be your friends upon the dictation of one who seeks for his own personal ends to rouse all the worst passions, which must result to your injury and not inure any good to the race?

My brethren, I beg you to pause and consider before you shall determine to follow the advice of Mr. Langston, and imperil the best interest of our race by giving your vote to a person who has never in any wise, nor at any place, at any time, shown himself friendly to the colored men or to the Republican party.

I shall vote for the regular nominee of the Republican party—Judge Arnold—and I trust you to do the same.

In the bonds of Christian love,

WILLIAM WALLACE
Pastor New Hope Baptist Church
Sussex County, Virginia⁸⁵

⁸⁵ *House Report*, No. 2462, 51st Cong., 1st Ses., pp. 26-7.

A study of this period, leads the author to believe that the Negro played an effective and intelligent part in the Re-adjuster movement. It seems to show, that it is possible to unite white and Negro voters in a political movement for the common good of a Southern state. It seems also that the life and labors of William Mahone, indicate that there may be found Southern white men ready to utilize the Negro vote. This study, too, shows how the serving of selfish interests may be prejudicial to the welfare of the large majority.

JAMES HUGO JOHNSTON

THE WORK OF RELIEF SOCIETIES DURING THE CIVIL WAR

FREEDMAN ASSOCIATIONS

Perhaps the greatest internal problem after the actual planning and carrying out of the campaigns during the war was the care and disposition of the Negroes. Scattered, homeless and starving blacks on every hand appealed to the sympathy of the Northern invaders who set to work to remedy conditions and to solicit aid from their Northern friends. In answer to these appeals a large number of "aid" and "relief" societies were formed throughout the North and West, but since the first military occupation of the South occurred along the Atlantic coast, the earliest responses came from Washington, Philadelphia, New York and Boston.

In December, 1861, the Secretary of the Treasury sent Edward Pierce of Massachusetts, who had had some experience with contraband at Fortress Monroe, to Port Royal to manage the Negroes and prepare to raise a cotton crop the coming season. Upon his urgent request for both financial and personal aid, together with similar calls from General Sherman and Commodore Dupont, three different aid societies were formed in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, to get and send supplies and personal aid to South Carolina.¹ The first band leaving New York for Beaufort consisted of fifty-three superintendents and teachers, of whom twelve were women.² These were followed the same month of March by a second delegation and by a third party in April, making a total of ninety-three, of whom one-fifth were women.³

These people were given transportation, subsistence, and quarters by the Government while from the aid societies they received what amounted in some cases to their ex-

¹ *First Annual Report of the Port Royal Relief Committee*, (Philadelphia, 1863) 1-10.

² *The Atlantic Monthly* (Boston), XII, 298.

³ *Letters from Port Royal*, ed. by Elizabeth Ware Pearson (Boston, 1906) Introduction, 7.

penses—twenty-five to fifty dollars a month.⁴ On July 1, 1862, the Government took over the payment of salaries of those made superintendents, giving them about double the amount paid to teachers. Government funds were furnished by the sale of cotton seized by the army or grown by the Negroes under supervision; the societies' funds were obtained by a variety of means, but the most came from subscriptions.

These people came from every walk of life. There were artisans, carpenters, farmers, preachers, teachers, and adventurers. Harvard and Yale were well represented. Some went because of the adventure and others from philanthropic motives. One writer thought that many of them, especially among the twenty-one from New York, looked like broken-down teachers and preachers. One of these zealots was the wife of an Iowa senator.⁵ The three who went from Washington had been chosen by Secretary Chase. With such a conglomeration of individuals from different walks of life and with varying amounts of experience, it is not surprising that several returned home very promptly. In a year's time the greater number of them were in the North only to have others sent to fill the vacancies. For those who stayed there were many opportunities to show their pluck. The more efficient men were made superintendents and placed in charge of from one to five plantations with a total Negro population of as high as six hundred souls. They were charged by the Government with the care of the Negro, the oversight of all teachers and above all with the raising of a large crop of cotton. Those who remained teachers were scattered about on old plantations to instruct pickaninnies and old folks alike, inculcate habits of thrift and cleanliness, and seek in every way to prepare the Negro to take his place as a free man in society.

First among the societies was the Boston Educational Commission, February 7, 1862. It was reorganized about

⁴ *Putnam's Record*, companion volume, 315; *Letters from Port Royal*, ed. by Pearson, Introduction, 6.

⁵ *Putnam's Record*, IV, 227.

two years later and known as the New England Freedmen's Aid Society or the New England Society. The latter dominated all relief work in those states and with its branches played a prominent part in philanthropic and educational measures attempted in the South.

In their first annual report the Boston society recorded an expenditure of \$8,825 for teachers' salaries and goods sent equal in value to \$20,000. In 258 cases and barrels were 25,000 garments and 1,700 pairs of shoes. These were sent to Washington, Norfolk, and the Port Royal section of South Carolina and into the Mississippi Valley. Five hundred dollars had been sent to the Washington Relief Society. The superintendents had under their supervision 8,000 freedmen, of whom 3,000 were children.⁶

The second annual report for April, 1864, gave the amount collected for the year as \$21,052, which included some for clothes. This represented, however, but a minor amount raised, for \$18,762 had been collected for the Reverends Fiske and Fisher, who had been sent from the Mississippi Valley by General Grant. This was divided, and \$6,881 sent to the Western Sanitary Commission in cash, while the rest was spent for shoes, socks, handkerchiefs, woolen shirts, blankets, bed sacks, many yards of flannel and Negro cloth to send South. From other sources the sum of \$11,500 and 354 packages of second-hand clothes went to aid the freedmen.⁷

During the year that closed with the end of hostilities in Virginia, this society handled in cash a little over \$13,338, but sent into the Mississippi Valley and along the Atlantic coast from Washington to Fernandina, Florida, 407 cases, barrels and bales of goods which varied in value from \$25 to \$700 each.⁸

⁶ *First Annual Report of the Educational Commission for Freedmen* (Boston, May, 1863).

⁷ *Second Annual Report of the New England Freedmen's Aid Society, Educational Commission* (April 21, 1864), 3-6.

⁸ *The Freedmen's Record* (Boston, April, 1864), I, No. 4, 56.

A store was established at Port Royal, 1863, to sell at cost necessities to the Negroes. One of their agents declared near the close of the year, 1864, that over \$500,000 had been purchased by the freedmen.⁹ A second agency that assisted the Negro was an employment bureau, started in Washington about the close of the war. It charged employers a dollar for each man, and fifty cents for each woman furnished.¹⁰

As its name implied, the Boston society did do much for the education of the Negro. The first group of workers sent were more carefully chosen than were those from New York, but even this society had a large turnover in its corps. Of the seventy-two teachers who went to Port Royal during the first year, four died and thirty-two quit. The record is somewhat better for the second year since of the teachers and superintendents, by January, 1864, seventy-two remained of a total of 114 sent.¹¹ The third summary made near the close of hostilities showed that 220 had been employed, but only fifty-four teachers remained at work. Of this number forty-three had been there less than a year. Since the number of superintendents were about one-fifth of the total sent, the number of teachers in the field would show a falling off during that year of seven members.¹²

There were several causes for this continuous shifting of teachers, but they may be grouped under three headings: climatic conditions, hard work, and lack of adaptability. This society located teachers along the Atlantic coast from Washington to Florida with nearly one-half in the lowlands of South Carolina and one-third in Virginia. Sickness and death were not uncommon. There was no limit to the number of hours of work, for, besides gathering their pupils and

* *Extracts from Letters of Teachers and Superintendents of the New England Educational Commission for Freedmen, 5th Series* (Boston, October, 1864) 4.

¹⁰ *The Freedmen's Record* (May, 1865) I, No. 5, 80.

¹¹ *Extracts from Letters of Teachers and Superintendents of the New England Educational Commission for Freedmen* (January, 1864) 4th Series, 14.

¹² *The Freedmen's Record, Third Annual Report* (April, 1865) I, No. 4, 54.

teaching them, there were Sabbath and night schools where the older folks also received instruction. In addition, they visited the sick, gave supplies to the needy and taught habits of thrift and cleanliness. Nor did all teachers enter classrooms. They were supposed to adapt themselves to their environment and assist in any and every way possible. To manage households, teach industry and thrift so that it became a tangible thing to the freedmen was not a task with which many could successfully cope.¹³

This Boston organization was the work of philanthropically minded people in that section. They had neither sectarian nor political affiliations and because of their cosmopolitan character got support from many quarters. Private individuals sent donations in the form of coin and clothes—new and second-hand—oftimes anonymously. Groups of people with and without church affiliations that were public or semi-public in character, organized and sent in their contributions. Sewing circles, churches, business houses, and up-lift societies with a variety of names poured in their donations. The Boston society had a general agent and several traveling agents, a paper called *The Freedmen's Record*, and many auxiliary societies to assist it. Massachusetts was canvassed in competition with three other freedmen's aid societies. The last year of the war found ninety-six different towns in New England contributing.¹⁴

At the head of this society was President John A. Andrew. Several illustrious men as the Reverends Edward Hale, J. F. Clark and Charles F. Barnard were vice-presidents. On its committee for teachers were such personages as Loring Lathrop and Mrs. Charles R. Lowell. Other equally illustrious names were found on the committees for clothing and supply, correspondence, finance, and the executive.¹⁵

¹³ *The Freedmen's Record* (April, 1865) I, No. 4, 54.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 49-51. (*The Freedmen's Record* was known as *The Freedmen's Journal* until February, 1865. This publication reported for the New York and Pennsylvania Freedmen's Societies, also.

¹⁵ *The Freedmen's Journal* (January, 1865) I, No. 1, 16.

Many branch societies were organized during 1863, and later, which aided the mother society, but which acted independently at times and sent goods directly to the workers in the field. When such a society became financially able to support a teacher at \$300 a year, they were permitted to do so, but the mother society generally appointed such and always passed upon the applicant's qualifications. By April, 1865, there were twenty-eight branch societies; each one supported one to five teachers.¹⁶ The most thrifty of these seems to have been the Barnard Freedmen's Aid Society of Dorchester which within a year's time essayed to support six teachers and spent over \$2,200.¹⁷ The Leister Society maintained Sarah E. Chase at Norfolk whereas her sister, Lucy, was kept at the same place by the Roxbury branch. The latter also sent James P. Blake to South Carolina. The Danvers organization paid the salary of Sarah H. Towne. The Whitney family, alone, supported Elizabeth H. Botume at Beaufort. In this way every one of the twenty-eight societies was put in direct communication with an active field worker who, by his or her letters, spurred them on to greater efforts.¹⁸

Under the auspices of such notables as Wm. C. Bryant, Francis G. Shaw and C. C. Leigh, the most influential eastern organization, the National Freedmen's Relief Association, began to function on February 22, 1862, at New York. Its creators in giving their reasons for the organization of such a society maintained that the Negroes must be treated as freemen, educated, and supported until they were able to provide for themselves, but that thereafter no more charity would be given.¹⁹

¹⁶ *The Freedmen's Journal* (January, 1865), 2. (Until 1864, teachers received \$240 a year.)

¹⁷ *First Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Barnard Freedmen's Aid Society of Dorchester* (Boston, January, 1865).

¹⁸ *The Freedmen's Journal* (January, 1865) I, No. 1, 49. (Sarah and Lucy Chase were sisters of Secretary of the Treasury Chase.)

¹⁹ *Annual Report of the New York National Freedmen's Relief Association* (New York, 1866) 5. (This organization later adopted the distinctive title of *New York National Freedmen's Relief Association*.)

This New York association adopted means similar to those employed by the Boston society to raise funds and supplies. It advertised in the papers, issued open appeals to the public, asked donations of officers and teachers of the public schools, had agents selling slave pictures, employed lecturers and canvassers, and organized many freedmen's aids. Within a year of the close of the war there were 350 societies in forty-five counties.²⁰

Solicitors also sought aid from many out-of-state sources, which is shown by their treasurer's report. During the month of October, 1864, Canada West, New Jersey, New York State, Vermont, and Massachusetts contributed about \$70,000. From the Pacific Coast came \$30,000. About the same time the London (England) society sent \$6,770 in cash and goods. Much of their money, however, came from the New England States.²¹

The first year of their existence, \$56,199 was spent. 91,834 garments, 35,829 books, pamphlets and papers, 5,395 yards of cloth, five bales of drygoods, and two boxes of shoes were sent to James E. Yeatman of the Western Sanitary Commission, besides those sent to other sections of the South.²² The following year over \$100,000 of business was transacted. The third year's expenditure amounted to \$229,000 besides the distribution of over \$400,000 garments. These went into the Mississippi Valley to such centers as Natchez, Vicksburg, and New Orleans rather than along the coast where the Boston society was strong.²³ In many cases these supplies were sent to agents belonging to other organizations as to the Friends or to the Western Sanitary Commission.

The Philadelphia society first established stores that sold at cost direct to the Negro. The Boston and later the New York society did likewise, so by February, 1864, the

²⁰ *Annual Report of the New York National Freedmen's Relief Association* (New York, 1866,) 27; *New York Tribune*, February 23, 1864.

²¹ *New York Tribune*, November 18, 1864.

²² *First Annual Report of the National Freedmen's Relief Association* (New York, 1863).

²³ *New York Tribune*, February 26, 1864; *New York Herald*, June 11, 1865.

latter had stores in Beaufort, Newbern, and Vicksburg. These effectually squelched extortion by sutlers.²⁴

Thirty-four lady teachers were attempting to teach 3,000 pupils in 1863, but by March, 1865, the number of teachers had risen to 144, and by April, 1866, to 222, with an average attendance of 9,991. Of the 222 teachers, 67 were in South Carolina, 54 in North Carolina, 49 in Virginia, with the rest scattered along the coast from Washington, D.C., to Louisiana. Fernandina (Florida), New Orleans, Vicksburg, and Natchez each had an orphan asylum. An equal number of industrial schools were established.²⁵

The Port Royal Relief Commission, later known as the Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association, was organized in Philadelphia a few days too late to participate in the first expedition to the shores of South Carolina with the Boston and New York societies. It had an energetic group of workers, but confined its efforts to collect materials largely to Philadelphia and vicinity, so it was distinctly inferior in achievement to its two predecessors. Unlike the latter, it did not organize branch societies nor pay commissions or salaries to agents, but depended upon publicity gained through its official monthly publication, *The Pennsylvania Freedmen's Bulletin*, advertisements, pamphlets, the support of the clergy and the Friends. The Women's Aid Association was a distinct organization with its committees, but the two worked in complete harmony; the latter acted as assistant to the former. The Pennsylvania society was organized like the Boston, but it had no such roster of illustrious names.

The first year showed that about \$11,582 cash, and \$8,000 in cash value of clothes, were received. Of the former sum, nearly \$5,900 went towards the stocking of a store at Port Royal. This innovation was so successful that other societies also established them. More than twice as much was

²⁴ *New York Tribune*, February 26, 1864.

²⁵ *Annual Report of the New York Freedmen's Relief Association* (April 1866) 11, 17, 18; *The Freedmen's Record* (March, 1865) I, No. 3, 41.

done in 1863 as during the preceding year, for they collected clothes and other necessary articles to the value of \$10,000, and \$48,460 in coin. The third year's report gave the amount raised as \$61,147, but this overlapped the preceding year by two months. Some of these monies went into clothing, foodstuffs, hospital, and school supplies; but a portion was used to purchase property and erect a store, an industrial and a normal school, also a building for teachers, in Washington, D.C.²⁶

At first several teachers were sent to South Carolina, but their work was never pushed. They soon directed their attention to Washington and vicinity, Virginia, and Tennessee. In the latter place they had a general superintendent. Beginning May, 1864, in Washington, they increased the number of teachers in the vicinity until they had schools in Georgetown, and Alexandria, and became the largest worker of any society. By 1865 they had seventeen teachers in and about Washington, thirteen in Tennessee and Alabama, and eight in South Carolina.²⁷

Levi Coffin, an Abolitionist and a Friend, after seeing the suffering of thousands of Negro fugitives that steamers brought to Cincinnati and Cairo, wrote to his friends for blankets, bedding, and other supplies to alleviate the distress. Others became interested. The outgrowth was the organization, January 1, 1863, of the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission.²⁸

As its name implied, the Western Commission aided the Negroes in the West. Most of its efforts were directed to Arkansas, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Mississippi. Much material from the East being sent to it for re-shipment and distribution, it acted, as did the Western Sanitary Commission of St. Louis, as a shipping agent for others. Once well

²⁶*First Annual Report of the Port Royal Relief Committee* (Philadelphia, 1863) 10; *The Freedmen's Record*, I, No. 3, 41-42; *Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association* (Philadelphia, March, 1864).

²⁷*House Ex. Doc.*, No. 315, 41st Cong., 2nd Ses., 225; *The Freedmen's Record*, I, No. 3, 41.

²⁸*Reminiscences of Levi Coffin* (Cincinnati, 1880) 620.

started, free transportation was given by the Government to supplies and teachers, also rations for the latter and depots for the former.²⁹

To gain the necessary publicity, Levi Coffin, who became head agent, wrote letters, traveled in America and Europe, appealed to all church organizations—but in particular to the Friends of which denomination he was a member—and employed a number of agents. (Mention was made of the Reverend H. W. Cobb, who had charge of the collecting in Iowa, Minnesota and Wisconsin.) Their supplies were sent to agents of the Freedmen's Department in the Mississippi Valley for some time, but since the latter rendered no account, the Cincinnati organization later sent its own agents with depots at Memphis and Nashville.³⁰

The supplies shipped included those articles sent by the other societies, as clothes, foodstuffs and medicine, but in addition, many heavy articles were included which were not often mentioned elsewhere. Many agricultural implements, sewing machines, cooking utensils, and even cane mills were sent down the Mississippi River. After eighteen months of organization, they reported, in addition, the shipment of 68,758 garments, 15,172 pounds of garden seed, 41,813 books, and 121 tons of school supplies, besides many items in small quantities. Thirty-eight tons more had been forwarded for others. Cash to the amount of \$22,187 was paid out; but no statement of the total received was made, although it must have been considerable.³¹ The same report gave the number of teachers as sixty, scattered from Cairo, Illinois, south as far as Vicksburg at eighteen places. They concentrated on Tennessee, however, for in April,

²⁹ *Convention of Freedmen's Commissioners held at Indianapolis, Indiana, July 19 and 20, 1864* (Indianapolis, 1864) 27.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 26.

³¹ *Convention of Freedmen's Commissioners held at Indianapolis, Indiana, July 19 and 20, 1864*, 24-27. (By February, 1865, nearly every principal town in England, Ireland and Scotland had Freedmen's Associations. They sent money, clothes, cutlery, shoes, etc., to Friends and Freedmen's Associations in America. In one year over \$100,000 in coin, clothes, etc., was sent to the various American organizations. *Reminiscences of L. Coffin*, 701.)

1866, they had fifty-two teachers, of whom more than two-thirds were in that state.³²

Youngest of all large associations, the North-Western Freedmen's Aid Commission started January 1, 1864, with its headquarters in Chicago. Its aims were similar to those of other associations, namely, to establish temporary homes and orphan asylums, industrial schools and hospitals, and provide the necessary number of teachers with school supplies.

The Freedmen's Bulletin gave them the much needed publicity, besides coordinating and directing their efforts. They paid the salaries of seven agents who worked in the Northwest. From a fair held in Chicago they realized \$10,000. Following the example set by several other societies, auxiliaries were established until by the close of hostilities 191 were in existence. One of the most efficient and independent of these was known as the Michigan Freedmen Aid Commission. Kansas was the field for its activity.³³

By mid-summer the commission had spent \$32,243. Fifteen tons of clothes had been sent to the women and children and twenty tons to the men. At the end of fifteen months' work (May 1, 1865), they had sent 617 packages of second-hand, and new goods worth \$40,321, and distributed \$133,210 in cash. Of this sum about \$83,023 went for relief, and \$33,167 to education.³⁴

Operating in every State in the Mississippi Valley, their teachers and superintendents numbered thirty-seven by July, 1864, but the following April there were seventy-one. They had commissioned a total of 118. Their own agents distributed the goods under field superintendent Reverend C. H. Roe. Miss A. H. Gest was superintendent of schools in the Department of the Gulf. Ten physicians sent were

³²*The Pennsylvania Freedmen's Bulletin* (May, 1866) I, No. 2.

³³*The Chicago Tribune*, April 15, 1864; *Ibid.*, April 14, 1865; *The Freedmen's Bulletin*, I, No. 6, 105. (The salaries would not equal 6 per cent on the agent's collection.)

³⁴*Convention of Freedmen's Commissions, Indianapolis, Indiana, July 19 and 20, 1864*, 17, 20; *The Freedmen's Bulletin*, I, No. 6, 105.

paid by the Government. By May, 1866, they had the same number of teachers as the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission (i.e., 52), located mostly in Mississippi, Alabama and Missouri.³⁵

The Indiana Freedmen's Aid Commission was organized, September, 1863, as an independent society although it paid nearly one-half of its cash and sent the same proportion of its goods through the agency of the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission the following year. Its general agents, however, later, became dissatisfied with the distribution and arranged with "reliable men" to handle what was sent.

They did the most of their work in Tennessee but sent some aid to Cairo, Illinois. Over a ton of goods went into Tennessee. \$9,567 in cash was received, and goods, new and second-hand, valued at \$12,649, was sent. Eleven teachers were commissioned, with perhaps eight still in the field at their first annual report. The 1,000 pupils in school were in the first three grades.³⁶

In April, 1863, the Cleveland Freedmen's Aid Commission was organized. It drew its support from adjacent parts of four States. Chaplain Locke was its only canvasser, but he had quit previous to the report. During this time, however, 500 boxes of clothing valued at \$10,000 had been sent and \$8,000 in coin secured.³⁷

Formed to care for refugees from Grant's campaign, the Contraband Relief Commission of Cincinnati was one of the earliest established organizations. From this Commission grew the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission the following year. Both worked almost exclusively in Tennessee. By July, 1864, it had shipped to the devastated region, extending from Cairo to Vicksburg, 40,265 garments, 10 school

³⁵ The *Chicago Tribune*, August 1, 1864; John Eaton, *Grant, Lincoln and the Freedmen* (New York, 1913) 130.

³⁶ *Report of the Board of Managers of the Indiana Freedmen's Aid Commission to the first Annual Meeting* (Indianapolis, September 7, 1864) 1-10.

³⁷ *Convention of Freedmen's Commissions, Indianapolis, Indiana, July 19 and 20, 1864*, 13.

books, 8,000 packages of garden seed, 50,000 sweet potato plants, 155 barrels of Irish potatoes, besides much else. Additional aid was supplied when teachers were sent to the Negroes.³⁸

Besides the large, substantial, freedmen societies that have been listed, there were many not so well known. Several of the latter were late in starting, but did well thereafter; others did little more than assume a name. The Pittsburgh Freedmen's Aid Commission which sprang into being and raised \$5,000 for Tennessee sufferers at the behest of the Pennsylvania Association, late in the war, is an example of the first type.³⁹ The second type of society is illustrated by the Pennsylvania Freedmen's Aid Society which sent \$100 to two Washington teachers, October, 1864, thus showing the existence of such a society.⁴⁰

The National Freedmen's Relief Association of Washington had the proud distinction of being organized second in point of time to the New York Association, with Mr. Chaning as President. It had, however, no constituency; so it appealed to many of the stronger societies for aid. The Christian Commission, the New York and Rhode Island Societies gave it the most support. Many individuals contributed, and Congress gave blankets, shoes and wood as well as a considerable sum of money.

The first year it handled about \$2,000 in cash and gave away 7,000 articles. Two evening schools were organized in 1862, and the same number started the following year. The third year these were turned over to organizations having greater facilities, and the local society went back to giving aid. This winter, soup kitchens were established for the needy. Near the close of the war two industrial schools were established where women, whose families prevented their getting out to work, were given sewing in order that

³⁸ *Convention of Freedmen's Commissions, Indianapolis, Indiana, July 19 and 20, 1864*, 15-17.

³⁹ *The Freedmen's Record* (March, 1865) I, No. 3, 42.

⁴⁰ *The Freedmen's Journal* (January, 1865) I, No. 1, 5.

they might keep their children together. Several thousand were materially aided in this way.⁴¹

With a title of greater length than its importance warranted, the Freedmen's and Sailors' Relief Association of Washington originated, 1862, with the temporary name of Contraband Relief Association. Its receipts were \$838.68 the first year and \$1,228.43 the second year. 5,150 articles of clothing had been received during that time. Among its contributors were Mrs. A. Lincoln and Frederick Douglas.⁴²

Organizations sprang up in every section of the North and West until there were several hundred of them. They generally had Freedmen's or Freedmen's Relief and the name of their state as the New York, Pennsylvania or Rhode Island or of their city as the Portland (Oregon), Nashville or Cincinnati as a part of their title. One city as Philadelphia or Cincinnati might have four or more societies, each completely independent of the others. Even the South had them. The Freedmen's Aid Association of New Orleans was started to aid the Negro by means of loans, education and advice.⁴³ Such a multiplication of organizations brought duplication and chaos in the work. In order to eliminate this confusion, as well as to present a united plea to Congress to assist with the Negroes' welfare, these societies tried as early as 1863 to federate.

The New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, and Chicago societies that have been mentioned created a nominal organization called the United States Commission for the Relief of the National Freedmen. A second attempt for harmony was made, February, 1865, by uniting the Boston and Philadelphia societies with the Baltimore Moral and Education Improvement Society—later, joined by the New

⁴¹ *House Ex. Doc.*, 41st Cong., 2nd. Ses., 224; *Fourth Annual Report of the National Freedmen's Relief Association* (Washington, D.C., May 1, 1866). (This society was apparently run by and for Negroes.)

⁴² *Second Annual Report of the Freedmen's and Soldiers' Relief Association* (Washington, 1864).

⁴³ *Freedmen's Aid Association of the City of New Orleans* (New Orleans, 1865).

York society—to form the American Freedmen's Aid Union. A third major attempt was made (several rapprochements were under discussion) in September, 1865, which succeeded little better than any of its predecessors. On January 31, 1866, after several societies had formed the American Union Commission, the latter and the American Freedmen's Aid Union united to form the American Freedmen's and Union Commission, or the American Freedmen's Union Commission. The units were thereafter known as the New England, or Pennsylvania "branches."

FRIENDS' SOCIETIES

The Female Sewing Society among the Friends of Philadelphia bore much the same relationship to the Friends' Association of Philadelphia that the Women's Aid Association of Philadelphia bore to the Pennsylvania association. These sewing societies, of which there were about one hundred in the city, had done much good work prior to November, 1863, when the Friends' Association of Philadelphia was organized.

The corresponding secretary of this society, S. R. Shipley, was very active in promoting the expansion of the work, both at home and in the South, by personal supervision. His society had committees on purchasing and forwarding, on instruction, one on farming, and later a fourth on stores. The men on these committees and the teachers received very little for their services—most of them served gratuitously.

The sewing societies had made 11,337 garments by the middle of January, 1864, and the Friends' association had spent \$25,673. A schoolhouse and several Negro cabins had been constructed in Virginia. School books, charts, and dry goods had been sent to Virginia and to Mississippi. Several teachers were in the field."

During the next fourteen months, the Friends' associations of Philadelphia raised, without a cent in commission,

"Report of the Executive Board of the Friends' Association of Philadelphia and its Vicinity for the Relief of the Colored Freedmen (Philadelphia, April, 1864) 1-6.

the sum of \$200,148 in money. They shared this with the Hicksite Friends and with the Pennsylvania association. Their share was \$129,000, of which \$31,500 came from the British Isles. They had distributed many thousands of articles of wear besides about 47,000 new garments. To assist the Negroes in working for themselves, they sent shoemakers' tools as well as shoes and needles, also yarn with stockings. Solidified milk and vaccine virus went for small-pox patients. Two stores, selling at cost, were established at Hampton and Yorktown, Virginia. In seven months sales reached the astonishing total of \$110,000.⁴⁵

Seven teachers were located in Washington but were withdrawn within two years (1866). Fifteen were placed on the peninsula by the York River. Instruction in agricultural methods was also sent. Tools, seed, and other necessary material were sold, loaned or given. Many supplies were sent to these places and to North Carolina in 1863, but later the need became so urgent in the West that much was shipped into the Mississippi Valley from Kentucky to Arkansas and Mississippi to agents of other societies. Later, the bulk of their goods followed the teachers to Virginia.

During the first days of 1864, the Association of Friends for the Aid and Elevation of the Freedmen organized and began its labors in Washington. Its first work was to make a survey of the living conditions of the freedmen in the vicinity of Washington, and these were found to be bad. They sent workers and gave bedding, clothes, and foodstuffs. A sanitary board was appointed, and with governmental aid, hospitals were built, and several camps made sanitary. The Government also assisted by giving clothes, and furnishing them with paid helpers. Nearly \$10,000 was collected for this purpose.

Teachers and schools were supplied. Children and women had separate classes where reading and sewing

⁴⁵ *The Freedmen's Record* (March, 1865) I, No. 3, 42.

were taught. Day and night schools accommodated everyone.⁴⁶

Always friendly to the Negroes, the Indiana Friends re-organized after the war started and sent about twenty teachers and agents to the Mississippi Valley. In October, 1864, the Ohio, Indiana, Western and Iowa Meetings united with one board of control, and one general agent in the South, to oversee all work. By December, 1865, thirty-one superintendents and teachers were employed with industrial and day schools established. The greater number of these were located in northern Mississippi and Tennessee about such centers as Vicksburg, Helena, Island Number 63, Nashville, and Pulaski. Much publicity was gained for them and their cause from *The Freedmen's Record*, which they probably started, January, 1865. Many agricultural implements and seed were sent. The latter were provided from a cash fund of \$23,000, secured during the year that ended July, 1864. The following year the Indiana Meeting probably raised \$30,000, a sum that would equal the total amount collected by its three associates.⁴⁷

A part of this fund came from England. Freedmen aid societies were materially assisted by gifts of clothes, cutlery, and money from England, Ireland and Scotland, particularly from similar societies established at London, Liverpool, and Birmingham. In a similar manner, the Friends received aid from the British Isles and France. The New England society, the New York association, the Friends of Philadelphia, the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission, the Indiana Friends, the Baltimore association, and the Freedmen's and Soldiers' Relief Association of Washington, received much aid. Doubtless many others received a proportionate amount of a sum that ran into hundreds of thousands of dollars.

An unknown number of Friends' societies were started

⁴⁶ *First Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Association of Friends for the Aid and Elevation of the Freedmen* (Philadelphia, 1865).

⁴⁷ *Convention of Freedmen's Commissions, Indianapolis, Indiana, July 19 and 20, 1864*, 14; *The Freedmen's Record*, I, No. 1, 2-9.

to assist directly or indirectly in the work. Several of these had an independent existence that gave them some publicity as the Friends' Association of New Jersey which was interested, and had at least one representative, in Yorktown, Virginia. The Friends Association of Washington had paid assistants at work at the capital city. The New York society made a careful report near the close of 1862, preparatory to taking more active measures.⁴⁸ The Maryland Friends chose as their society's name the Baltimore Moral and Educational Improvement Society. Started, 1864, it expanded so rapidly that in twelve months they had seven schools in the city and eighteen in the country with 3,000 pupils. They spent \$9,566 on these twenty-five schools.⁴⁹

NEGRO WORKERS

The Negroes did not depend entirely upon their Northern brethren for succor, for some were found in the school-room or hospital or in organizing aid for those of their own color. As early as 1862, there was a Colored Constitutional Relief Association for the care of contraband in the neighborhood of Washington. The same year saw the establishment of the National Freedmen's Relief Association of Washington which has been previously described with the other Freedmen societies. Two years after the latter was started, Congress incorporated the National Association for the Relief of Destitute Colored Women and Children, with I. Bowen and others in charge. It was to provide suitable homes, to board, clothe, instruct, and christianize the freedmen.

This society was to get and hold land for a certain number of years by permission of the Secretary of War. Accordingly, they secured from Secretary Stanton eighty acres of land in Georgetown upon which they located for

⁴⁸ *New York Friends' Report upon Colored Refugees* (New York, 1865). (This report covered Washington and vicinity, also the Eastern Shore of Virginia.)

⁴⁹ *House Ex. Doc.*, No. 315, 41st Cong., 2nd Ses., 353.

the duration of the war. The New York association pledged \$1,000 and other New England societies sent clothes. By the close of their first year, they had established a school and collected nearly \$3,500.⁵⁰

An Educational Association of Colored People of Savannah (Georgia) was started under the auspices of General Geary, 1865, to provide schools. The officers and teachers were Negroes. At once they had ten schools, 500 children and nearly \$1,000 to work with. A month later (March, 1865), twenty-four Negroes of Charleston formed a committee to search out cases of destitution. They aided the Negro "Ladies Patriotic Association" which was formed to make up clothes for the indigent.⁵¹ Another preceded these by three years, for the war had scarcely started before a schoolboard was organized by the Parkersburg (W. Va.) Negroes that hired two of their race as teachers.

Among Negro workers, there were four well known women who made good in competition with the men. The first orphanage was established by an "Aunt Maria," at President's Island, near Memphis. Harriet Tubman, nicknamed "the Moses of her People," was paid a small salary to aid in the practical education of the North Carolina freedmen. The most noted of the teachers were Mrs. Mary Peake, a well-educated Massachusetts woman, whose labors were confined to Hampton, Virginia, and Charlotte Forten, a friend of Whittier, who went to South Carolina with the first New England group. Two Negro men were also fairly prominent in educational work. The Reverend B. W. Arnett went to Washington from Pennsylvania to conduct a large school, and Wm. Wilson was sent, February, 1864, by the American Missionary Association to take charge of a school vacated by a white principal. In Alexandria as early as 1862, two teachers conducted a tuition school. Nor-

⁵⁰ *First Annual Report of the National Association for the Relief of Destitute Colored Women and Children* (Washington, 1865).

⁵¹ The New York *Tribune*, October 29, 1862; Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, February 2, 1865; *The Freedmen's Record*, I, No. 5, 77.

folk (Virginia) had in 1862 fifteen instructors of both sexes in charge of 1,200 pupils, and by August, 1865, twenty-seven were in the schools of Charleston, South Carolina.⁵²

The cases cited are only a few out of many; for, as the war drew to a close, numbers of the more intelligent began to assist their fellows, with or without the guidance of whites. Many were thus employed in the Gulf Department and in Virginia under General Butler's monitorial system.

MISCELLANEOUS ORGANIZATIONS

The greatest accomplishment for the freedmen by the American Tract Society was to supply many schools with books. Beginning with the year 1864, the society published a monthly four-page paper for the use of those learning to read and write. First lessons in spelling, geography, arithmetic, and reading were given, along with religious precepts, and, to make it attractive, good wood-cuts were used.⁵³ Several schools were opened and chapels constructed, but these were held only temporarily for the society specialized in the handling of books, pamphlets, and religious tracts.

The American Missionary Association, like the Tract Society, was an old organization. This enabled it to start early. Money, goods and clothing were sent to all parts of the country. Its first year's report showed the receipts to be \$57,405; the second year \$95,396 in coin was received, and clothing, to the value of \$44,340, was sent; while the third year showed receipts of \$95,785, making a total of \$248,586 received. Doubtless much clothing was sent that was not included in the report.⁵⁴

⁵² *Report of the General Superintendent of Freedmen, Department of Tennessee and State of Arkansas* (Memphis, 1865) 88; *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1900-1901*, by A. D. Mayo, 414, found in *Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior, 1901*, Commissioner of Education (Washington, 1902) I; *The Freedmen's Record*, I, No. 9, 139.

⁵³ *Fiftieth Annual Report of the American Tract Society* (Boston, 1864) 33, 93. (The American Bible Society supplied the freedmen who were able to read with Bibles.)

⁵⁴ *The Eighteenth Annual Report of the American Missionary Association* (New York, 1864) 9; also, *Nineteenth Annual Report* (Brooklyn, 1865) 9.

This organization surpassed all others in the number of teachers sent out, and in schools, established. They began their work in Washington in the spring of 1862 by furnishing teachers. Later, Virginia became the scene of activity where teachers and farm superintendents were sent, and orphan asylums erected. The number of teachers was increased to seventy by September, a year later, and, in connection with the North-Western Commission, made great efforts to put a still larger number in the field. By the following year they had eleven teachers and 1,000 pupils in the vicinity of Washington. In Norfolk, Portsmouth and vicinity (1864), there were sixty-four teachers of whom four were also preachers. General Butler wanted the association to provide 120 teachers. The latter would be required to pay their salaries, but the Government would furnish the houses, dwellings, and rations. They did not lack the number very much for they then had, in eastern Virginia, eight ordained ministers and ninety teachers. North Carolina under a Reverend Mr. Briggs had eighteen missionaries and teachers, with both day and night schools. South Carolina had thirty-one missionaries and teachers, fourteen day, two night, and ten Sunday schools. Florida was not entirely neglected, and lower Louisiana had twenty-six missionaries and teachers. The upper part of the Valley from Vicksburg to Cairo had thirty-eight teachers and seven ministers.⁵⁵

This association made strenuous efforts to increase the number of workers in the field during the year from 1864 to 1865, and was quite successful. In a report made six months after the close of the war, they were represented in Washington and vicinity by two ministers and nineteen teachers. Thus, in less than three and one half years, their workers had increased from one to twenty-one in number in the District of Columbia. Virginia, where their first and

⁵⁵ *First Annual Meeting of the North-Western Freedmen's Aid Commission* (Chicago, 1864) 8; *The Eighteenth Annual Report of the American Missionary Association* (New York, 1864).

greatest work was done, had eleven ministers and 104 teachers, many of whom were supported by the Free-Will Baptists of Boston, or by the Presbyterians of Pennsylvania. South Carolina easily ranked second to Virginia, having nine ministers and fifty-two teachers, with North Carolina third, having a total of thirty-one. Their entire force numbered 313 of whom fifty-two were ministers and the remainder were teachers.⁵⁶

With a fund of approximately \$5,000,000, the United States Christian Commission exerted considerable influence among the soldiers but gave little attention to the needs of the freedmen. What, therefore, was done was incidental to their main work. Although there may have been many more, at least two reports were made that showed some consideration of the Negro. William D. Butler, a delegate of the commission, reported, 1863, that the mission was busy aiding Negroes at Young's Point and Pawpaw Island, Mississippi. Two years later, the same people sent school books to the same section for 1,000 Negro children.⁵⁷

The two great sanitary commissions were established to care for the Northern soldiers. The Christian Commission rarely considered the Negroes but, during 1862, the Western Sanitary Commission could no longer neglect them and began to take measures to alleviate some of the wretchedness. In January, 1863, Miss Marie Mann was sent to Helena with sanitary stores, clothing, hospital goods, and all other necessary paraphernalia. With the aid of (Secretary) I. G. Forman and the Reverend I. Sawyer, hospitals and buildings were created at an expense of \$8,000 to meet all urgent needs.⁵⁸ President Lincoln sent J. E. Yeatman of the Western Sanitary Commission on a tour of inspection down the Mississippi. His report, together with others, presented to the outside world, for the first time, the actual conditions.

⁵⁶ *The Nineteenth Annual Report of the American Missionary Association* (Brooklyn, 1865).

⁵⁷ *New York Tribune*, October 3, 1865; *Ibid.*, March 18, 1865.

⁵⁸ *The Sanitary Commission in the Valley of the Mississippi* (Cleveland, 1871) 157; *The Western Sanitary Commission* (St. Louis, 1864), 110.

Fiske and Fisher secured \$43,000 in New England for their relief; the New York Association sent two men to Vicksburg; the Western Sanitary Commission sent three lady teachers to the same place, and other organizations hastened to contribute. To prevent duplication, the Western Sanitary Commission worked through reliable agents who were in the field, regardless of their religious affiliations. Two of the most popular men were Friends—Beard and Roundtree. In order that the transportation of goods might be facilitated, a working agreement was entered into with such organizations, among others, as the National Freedmen of New York and the North-Western of Chicago whereby their goods were re-shipped and cared for from St. Louis to the camps in the South. Goods to the value of \$100,000 were handled the first year (1864).⁵⁹

Western Sanitary Commission funds came from the Missouri Legislature, the St. Louis fair, from ladies aid, and freedmen's aid, societies, scattered over the entire North and West. It issued over 80,500 articles and much money to the freedmen.⁶⁰

Another organization that started late and consequently had done little more than make a good beginning by the close of the war was the African Civilization Society. It was incorporated in New York by the ministers of several large churches in that city and Brooklyn, in order to promote the mental, spiritual and physical welfare of the Negro in America, and, if possible, to transplant him to another land. By November, 1864, they had three schools with 400 pupils and eight Negro teachers in the District of Columbia. Their growth along the Atlantic coast thereafter was tremendous.⁶¹

⁵⁹ *Convention of Freedmen's Commissions, Indianapolis, July 19 and 20, 1864*, 20-22; *The Western Sanitary Commission*, 110, 121-124.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 129-131.

⁶¹ *An Appeal in Behalf of the Education of the Freedmen and their Children* (New York, 1864).

CHURCH ACTIVITY

Few churches as such took an active part during the first three years of the war. They had their aid and relief societies that contributed in full measure to the different commissions and societies, so it was not until near the close of hostilities that many distinct sectarian organizations began to function. Up to that time, Baptists, Methodists and Presbyterians had their workers in the South, supported by some aid society. The latter often called upon some home locality to undertake the support of one or more people in the field. A church might support a group of teachers and ministers that had been commissioned by an aid society as did the Baptists and Presbyterians in the eastern part of Virginia. Few distinctive religious organizations existed until 1865.

The Methodist Episcopal Church had special committees on the freedmen's work. They sent missionaries and teachers south to establish churches, day and Sunday schools, but, until near the close of the war, such people generally secured the endorsement of a freedmen's organization. The Methodists cooperated with the National Freedmen's Relief Association in the East, with the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission in their section, and in the Northwest with the North-Western Freedmen's Aid Commission. Their greatest success was achieved by getting a dozen of their ministers into important positions in these societies as, for example, the Reverend I. M. Walden who became Corresponding Secretary of the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission.⁶²

The Presbyterian Church had teachers and ministers in the field supported by, or under the direction of freedmen societies. In the West were colporteurs to distribute papers and books, while large shipments of these commodities were made to the vicinity of Fortress Monroe where the church supported several workers. In 1865, a committee on

⁶² William Warren Sweet, *The Methodist Episcopal Church and the Civil War* (Cincinnati, 1912) 172-176.

freedmen was formed which sent men and women south to organize churches and schools. Church members were urged to send contributions of every kind to their missionaries. Their independent activities were apparently directed at first towards Tennessee.⁶³

In 1863, the United Presbyterians of Ohio organized their own freedmen society at Nashville to carry on the work among the Negroes. The same was done by the Reform Presbyterians, United Brethren and one branch of the Baptists. Two years later, the Congregationalists followed in their footsteps and the Protestant Episcopalians did likewise, but after the close of the war.⁶⁴

With the formation of their freedmen society in 1863, the Reformed Presbyterian Church began their sectarian activities. By the following year, they had erected sixteen dwellings and a chapel in Washington. Schools were opened later at the same place.⁶⁵

The Baptists adopted measures for the freedmen in 1862 by sending two men to South Carolina. The following year a freedmen's fund was established to support teachers. The freedmen in Washington were their main objects of charity at the time. Following this, representatives from all New England States formed the New England Freedmen's Aid Commission which cooperated with the Home Missions Board to raise funds and to send suitable people south. During the spring of 1865 the American Baptist Home Missionary Society of Boston took over the support and care of their Washington school, thus freeing their workers for more southern posts. By April, 1864, twenty-four such workers had been sent along the Atlantic seaboard, to New Orleans and Tennessee. This fund got nearly \$2,000 in 1864 and about \$5,000 the next year. By 1866, they had several schools and sixty-eight workers in

⁶³ *The Home and Foreign Record of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (Philadelphia, 1866) XIV, 209, 287, 288; XV, 138, 41.

⁶⁴ Sweet, *The Methodist Episcopal Church and the Civil War*, 175.

⁶⁵ *House Ex. Doc.*, No. 315, 41st Cong., 2nd Ses., 226.

twelve Southern States. Up to March, 1864, they had spent for missionary and colportage agents over \$26,000.⁶⁶

Cairo, Illinois, had four representatives of the Home Mission Committee of the Free-Will Baptist Church but the latter, lacking the necessary finances, applied to the North-Western Freedmen's Aid Association for succor, which was granted. A \$1,000 building was constructed for them.⁶⁷ They in turn paid the salaries of many teachers in Virginia, sent out by the American Missionary Association. They were also found laboring near Vicksburg and above, in Washington, and in the Shenandoah Valley.

Other agencies made efforts but did not accomplish much. The United Brethren organized a Freedmen's Society in 1863. The following year they commissioned, and supplied, seven workers near Vicksburg. The Protestant-Episcopal Society for the Religious Instruction of Freedmen apparently accomplished nothing more than to perfect an organization by the end of the war.⁶⁸ Three small societies—and there were doubtless many others—that played some part in the work were the Washington Christian Union at Washington and Georgetown, the Congregational-Unitarian Society of Cincinnati, and the New York Union Missionary Society that supported two schools at Newport News and Hampton.⁶⁹

SUMMARY

The sudden rise of so many organizations brought confusion and wasted energy because of overlapping and conflict between societies in the same field. Different groups oftentimes canvassed the same territory three or four succes-

⁶⁶ Henry L. Morehouse, *Baptist Home Missions in North America* (New York, 1883) 399-405; *Thirty-ninth Annual Report of the American Baptist Publication Society* (Philadelphia, 1863). (The *Chicago Tribune* of June 29, 1864, spoke of a Negro Baptist Convention, held in St. Louis, which sought means of supplying their Negro friends in the South.)

⁶⁷ *The Freedmen's Bulletin* (Chicago, May, 1865) I, No. 6, 97.

⁶⁸ *First Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts-Episcopal Society for the Religious Instruction of Freedmen* (Boston, 1865).

⁶⁹ *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, July 8, 1863; *New York Tribune*, August 5, 1862.

sive times while other sections remained unsolicited. The same confusion reigned in the South for each society sent its representative somewhere, whether or not they were most needed in that locality. This was due largely to lack of information in the North. To eliminate these unbusiness-like methods, branch societies were organized under the direct supervision of the parent organization, agents were assigned certain sections, and the territory was divided between the competitors. Many of the agents sent south had the confidence of more than their own group with the result that one man might receive goods from several societies. Churches, first receiving the approval of a society, sent their leaders who were thereafter supported by the society. Occasionally the reverse was true in so far as it applied to financial aid. The tendency was to amalgamate for efficiency and to concentrate on one certain phase of the work. From the middle of 1863 and on, the freedmen's societies never ceased to attempt a complete unification. To a lesser degree, the Friends' societies followed their example. By 1864, various churches had a goodly number of their own denomination in the work, so they began to organize their own sectarian societies and to leave former affiliations.

Until the close of the war, a major portion of the work was carried on through non-denominational agencies, as the freedmen's societies. Those that might be termed semi-denominational, as the American Missionary Association which served the Baptists, Methodists, Reformed Dutch and Presbyterians, expanded rapidly the latter part of 1864. The Friends were competitors of the freedmen's societies from the start; but, aside from them, the denominational societies did little until 1865 when between one and two dozen took form and grew.

The amount spent by public agencies can only be approximated. Cloth was purchased and made up into clothes; some were purchased; more were given directly to them without the value being ascertained; smaller societies, and even private parties, oftentimes sent goods di-

rectly to the field agent. Moreover, the money received might be spent for teachers' salaries, or running expenses, where it was easily accounted for, or a part of it might be spent for clothing or stores, and be counted two or more times. Much in goods was given the first three months without any account being kept by such an organization as the Western Sanitary Commission, so, the probability is, that smaller and less responsible societies may not have reported a considerable part of their activity. The best evidence to support the latter contention is the mention once or twice of several small local groups in the papers, but which are never heard of again. How many lived their life of usefulness and ceased to exist, without newspaper publicity, may never be known.

During the three years of warfare, an estimated sum of from three to four million dollars may have been spent by public, semi-public, and private agencies, working through the generally accepted channels of welfare, such as the freedmen's and Friends' societies, and their field workers. Of this amount, probably from five to seven per cent came from the British Isles.

G. K. EGGLESTON

THE STATUS OF SLAVES IN COLONIAL NORTH CAROLINA

Late in August, 1619, a Dutch ship captain sold to the governor of Virginia twenty Negroes. These were to be indentured servants, for Virginia at this time had no customs or laws regarding slaves. Slavery did not appeal to colonial settlers, for indentured servitude was held preferable. In 1625 Virginia had a population of about 2,500, but only twenty-three of these were Negroes. After 1635 when Negroes were given head rights settlers imported more Negroes and received large tracts of land for them. Comparatively few Negroes, however, were imported into Virginia until after 1661, and not a great many were imported until the close of the century.¹ These blacks like those in Bermuda had been captured by pirates and were under the protection of international law.² They were worked by the governor and planters. Not until 1625 was there any attempt made in Virginia to enslave Negroes. The governor alone had the right to hold and work Negroes. It was years before a system of slavery developed.

In the American colonies, then, slavery can be said to have had its foundation in white servitude. The first statute enacted in Virginia regarding slavery was in 1661 and merely stated that "Negroes are incapable of making satisfaction (for the time lost in running away) by addition of time."³ This did not entirely legalize slavery which was accomplished by another law in 1670. A law in Maryland in 1663 declared that "All Negroes or other slaves shall serve *durante vita*." The dates of the legalization of slavery in the colonies are as follows: Massachusetts, 1641; Connecticut, 1650; Virginia, 1661 and 1670; Maryland, 1663; New York and New Jersey, 1664; South Carolina, 1682; Pennsylvania and Rhode Island, 1700; North Caro-

¹ James Curtis Ballagh, *History of Slavery in Virginia*, pp. 8-10.

² *Ibid.*, p. 28.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

lina, 1715; Georgia, 1755.⁴ Before these dates Negroes were servants and not slaves. A Virginia law of 1662 stated that children of life servants should take the status of their mother. Not until 1741 did North Carolina pass a similar law.⁵ Maryland alone provided that a child should take the status of the father.⁶

We are unable to say when slavery was first introduced into Carolina. Doubtless it was not many years after the first settlers arrived before some one who owned slaves in Virginia or in some other colony in the New World emigrated to Carolina. When Albemarle was first settled there were not many slaves in Virginia, especially in the section from which the early Carolina settlers came; consequently it is not supposed that the first settlers of Carolina brought slaves with them.

The Lords Proprietors of Carolina recognized the necessity for slavery in colonial development and in the Concessions of 1665 granted 100 acres of land for each freeman, wife or freewoman in the colony on January 1, 1665. For each servant or slave above the age of fourteen the owner was entitled to fifty acres of land. Those who arrived between January 1, 1665, and January 1, 1666, received seventy-five acres for each freeman, seventy acres for each manservant and forty acres for each "weaker servant or slave." The head rights for those who arrived between January 1, 1666, and January 1, 1667, were fifty acres for each free person and twenty-five acres for each "weaker servant or slave."

The philosopher, John Locke, in the Fundamental Constitutions for Carolina, built his elaborate governmental system on the mud-sill of slavery. This document stated that every freeman of Carolina should have absolute power over his slaves.⁸

⁴ James Curtis Ballagh, *History of Slavery in Virginia*, p. 34.

⁵ John Spencer Bassett, *Slavery in the Colony of North Carolina*, p. 29.

⁶ Ballagh, *History of Slavery in Virginia*, p. 39.

⁷ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, Vol. I, pp. 86-89.

⁸ *North Carolina State Records*, Vol. XXV, p. 135.

In 1689 Seth Sothel of Albemarle willed a Negro man to his father-in-law. We do not know how or when this Negro came to Carolina, but doubtless he had been here several years.⁹ In 1692 Agnas Trueblood of Pasquatank Precinct willed to her two sons and two daughters the Negroes of her estate.¹⁰ The next year William Simson of Albemarle willed to each of his two sons one Negro.¹¹ Three years later Thomas Lankton of Albemarle willed a Negro Betty and her three year old son to a friend.¹² Two years later Charles Neall willed his Negroes to his son Charles.¹³ In 1694 John Philpott of Albemarle donated a plantation, ten cows and 6,000 pounds of pork to a friend. The pork was to be used to pay for a Negro in Boston.¹⁴ These six parties alone mentioned slaves in their wills before the close of the seventeenth century, but doubtless many others who did not make wills in these years had slaves. We must remember, however, that at the close of the century there were not more than 4,000 whites in what is now North Carolina. Before slaves could be used extensively in the colony the Indians must be driven back or exterminated, the white population must be dense enough to resist a black insurrection and slavery had to prove itself a more efficient form of labor than indentured servitude.¹⁵

Some idea of the number of slaves brought into the colony can be derived from the land grants and estimates by various people. Isaac Wilson in 1705 received 1,200 acres of land for himself, wife, servants and slaves.¹⁶ Rev. James Adams, a missionary for the Church of England in 1709, stated that in Pasquatank Precinct there were 1,332 souls of whom 211 were Negroes.¹⁷ In Currituck Precinct

⁹ J. Bryan Grimes, *North Carolina Wills and Inventories*, p. 381.

¹⁰ Grimes, *Abstracts of North Carolina Wills and Inventories*, p. 381.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 340.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 208.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 292.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 288.

¹⁵ Bassett, *Servitude and Slavery in the Colony of North Carolina*, p. 14.

¹⁶ *Colonial Records*, Vol. I, p. 650.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 720.

97 of the 539 souls were Negroes.¹⁸ If we count this same ratio of about one-sixth for Chowan, Perquimans and Pamlico, we have about eight hundred blacks in North Carolina in 1710. Colonel Pollock estimated in 1717 that there were 2,000 taxables in the colony. Taking the average number of taxables for each family and the per cent of population supposed to be in slavery we have about 1,100 slaves in North Carolina in 1717.¹⁹ Having neither precious minerals nor sea ports, the population of the colony grew very slowly. In 1754 the census of taxables shows that there were about 15,000 Negroes and about 62,000 whites in the colony. By 1764 the numbers had increased to about 30,000 Negroes and 114,000 whites.²⁰ The great influx of Scotch-Irish, Germans, and Scotch Highlanders into the Piedmont part of the colony about the middle of the century together with the antipathy of the Friends for slavery kept the ratio of slaves to whites at about one to four.

The great question with the colonial planter was could he make a good laborer from the untrained African. The Spanish idea of slavery was to drive the slave as an ox or a mule to his work and keep him in a stockade, but the Virginia and Carolina planter wanted to live with his slaves as the lord of the manor lived with his serfs.²¹ To train the ignorant Negro so that the planter could live as a manorial lord at first seemed an impossible task. However, we soon find the people of North Carolina so absorbed in slavery that the greatest ambition of most of them was to be able to own slaves, and many thought that the colony could not exist without them. In 1716 the Reverend John Umstone wrote the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to send him three Negro men and a Negro girl about sixteen years of age from Guinea. He reported that there was no living in North Carolina without servants and that the whites were no good, prone to run away and never worked out their

¹⁸ *Colonial Records*, Vol. I, p. 722.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. XVII.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 320; Vol. VII, p. 145.

²¹ Bassett, *Slavery and Servitude in Colonial North Carolina*, p. 14.

time.²² The following year he was more particular and wrote for two men slaves who had been born among the English as well as a woman slave, for the slaves recently from Guinea would not do for him.²³

Indians had been enslaved from early colonial days; not under any particular statute, but from custom. Lawson tells us that the people from New England who attempted to settle on the Cape Fear River were driven off by the Indians whose children the whites had carried off under the pretext of educating them.²⁴ In the Tuscarora War, 1711-12, many Indians were captured and enslaved.²⁵ There seems not to have been any law for this, but in 1760 a law was passed which stated that captured Indians should be enslaved as the property of the captor.²⁶

While Indians and Negroes were held as slaves it was illegal to hold whites as slaves. A law of 1741 provided that a person who should import or sell as a slave any free person from any Christian country, a Turk or Moor in amity with England should on conviction pay to the person from whom the slave should recover his liberty double the price paid for the said free person. The seller or importer must give a bond of 500 pounds sterling to carry the free person back to his country. Cases of this kind were determined without formal process of law, but it did the Negroes little good, for they could not testify against a white man.²⁷ In most cases the slaves' chief witnesses were Negroes, and it is evident that this law was enacted to prevent the enslavement of whites and not Negroes.

Before 1715 Negroes were apparently allowed to testify in the courts. That year four Negro slaves gave evidence that Tobias Knight was in an alliance with the pirates, which he denied.²⁸ This testimony was almost worthless, for

²² *Col. Records*, Vol. II, p. 260.

²³ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 278.

²⁴ Bassett, *Slavery and Servitude in Colonial North Carolina*, p. 71.

²⁵ *Col. Records*, Vol. I, p. 956.

²⁶ *State Records*, Vol. 23, p. 517.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. 23, p. 196.

²⁸ *Col. Records*, Vol. II, p. 345.

little attention was paid to it.²⁹ In the same year a law was enacted that provided that no Negro or mulatto, either bond or free to the third generation, or Indian servant or slave could be a witness in law except against each other.³⁰ The statute of 1741 provided that a slave when on trial or in the witness box should be charged to tell the truth. The master of the slave could attend the trial and give his evidence, but it was to be of a rather informal nature.³¹ If a Negro or mulatto, bond or free, or Indian slave should give false evidence he should for each offense have one ear nailed to the pillory. After standing in this position for an hour the ear was to be severed from his head. The other ear was then nailed to the pillory and severed from his head after an hour's time. Nor was this all, for he was then taken to the common whipping post and given thirty-nine lashes on the bare back well laid on.³²

Slaves did not escape labor on the highways. The statute of 1762 made the master liable to the law if he refused to take his slaves to work on the roads, cut the trees, or build bridges when ordered to do so.³³ The master also had to pay a tax on all slaves as well as on himself and his boys. The amount was six pence for each taxable and on each one hundred acres of land. A law of 1715 fixed taxables as all males over sixteen and all slaves and servants over the age of twelve.³⁴ The law of 1744, however, stated that all Negroes of any age and sex should be counted as tithables.³⁵

There were many laws passed to prevent slaves being taken for taxes, quit rents and debts; but they were not wholly satisfactory. As early as 1740 a statute provided that no slaves could be seized for any of the public taxes, quit

²⁹ *State Records*, Vol. 23, p. 61.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. 23, p. 662.

³¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 23, p. 203.

³² *Ibid.*, Vol. 23, p. 202.

³³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 25, p. 475.

³⁴ *Col. Records*, Vol. II, p. 889.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 747.

rents and debts when any other personal estate could be taken.³⁶ A law of 1736 provided that no slave could be liable to distress for quit rents or other rents.³⁷ A law of 1715 which made a party take the Negroes or other goods at their full value as appraised almost put an end to the execution of distress warrants. An act of 1749 exempted Negroes from being distressed for quit rents in case any other property could be produced. The king claiming that the law was too inclusive disallowed it.³⁸ Two laws passed in 1751 and 1754 made slaves distrainable for quit rents on the land belonging to the king or to Lord Granville, even though the slave was under mortgage for other and prior debts.³⁹ This statute provided that slaves were to be taken as the last resort, but did not fix the price of the slaves. The law of 1751 provided for holding the slaves in distress until other property was produced, but the law of 1754 gave the owner only five days in which to replevy his slaves or chattels. Otherwise they were sold at auction. The king made an attempt to aid the slaveholders in 1755 by ordering that slaves were to be considered as tools, plows and the like which could only be taken as the last resort.⁴⁰ Five years later a law forbade the seizure of slaves for parish taxes.⁴¹ Four years later a statute provided that after a man's personal property had been sold for his debts then his slaves and real estate could be sold.⁴² A law of 1776 was more humane and provided that land and Negroes when sold for debts or taxes were to be appraised by two justices of the peace and one freeholder. It further stated that the property could not be sold for less than two-thirds its value.⁴³

Slaves in Carolina had little freedom of movement. By

³⁶ *State Records*, Vol. 25, p. 164.

³⁷ *Col. Records*, Vol. IV, p. 187.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. 5, p. 476.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 455; *State Records*, Vol. XXV, p. 308.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 449.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 428.

⁴² *State Records*, Vol. XXIII, p. 638.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXV, p. 497.

a law of 1729, when going from place to place they were required to keep to the most accustomed road, and when found violating this law the owner of the land on which a violator was found was to give him not more than forty lashes on the bare back. Even a white man found drinking with a slave was to receive not more than forty lashes on the bare back well laid on by a justice of the peace.⁴⁴ Fear of a slave uprising led the legislature the same year to enact a law which made it unlawful for slaves to travel at night, to gather in white people's kitchens or in their own quarters. Negroes who violated this law by visiting were to receive forty lashes on the bare back, and those receiving the visitors were to receive half as many lashes. A master, however, could send his slave on an errand; but if he was to be out after night a written pass must be given him.⁴⁵

After 1729 a slave could not hunt on land belonging to any one except his master unless accompanied by a white man. Violations of the law made the master of the slave liable for a fee of one pound sterling to the owner of the land on which the slave was found.⁴⁶ In 1741 the hunting law was made more severe on slaves. Before he could hunt with gun, sword or club, keep a weapon or go about in the woods by himself, he must have a license. Any person finding a slave violating the law was to take his arms for his own use, arrest the slave, and take him to a constable who would give the poor Negro twenty lashes on the bare back. The slave was then taken to the master who was required to pay the same reward as that required for returning a runaway slave. The master, however, could employ one slave to hunt for him, but before he could carry a gun he must be provided with a certificate signed by the chairman of the county court. No other slaves could leave the plantation except those wearing liveries or those provided with certificates.⁴⁷ In 1753 the law was made more string-

⁴⁴ *State Records*, Vol. XXIII, p. 114.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 114.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 114.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 201.

ent by requiring from the master a bond for any slave who hunted with a gun. The bond for the good behavior of the slave was made when the certificate was secured. Should the slave while hunting injure any person, the bond was made over to him as a recompense. In addition the injured party could procure judgment in the court against the master of the slave.⁴⁸ No slave of a master who did not tend a crop could carry a gun, and where a crop was cultivated only one slave was permitted to have firearms. As soon as the crop was harvested this one Negro was deprived of his gun. If the law was violated the master was to give to the informer twenty shillings and the gun unless he would swear that the slave did not have his permission.⁴⁹ After 1753 should a person discover a slave without a license, hunting with a dog, he was to kill the dog and take the offender before a magistrate who would give him not more than thirty lashes on his naked back.⁵⁰ After 1766 the limit of a slave's hunting range was five miles from his home or rather the home of the master. Even then he must hunt on the land belonging to his master or on the wild land of the king. Should a slave violate this law the master was fined ten pounds.^{50a}

After 1715 those who harbored a runaway slave or servant more than twenty-four hours were to pay to the master of the slave or servant ten shillings for each day in addition to the cost and losses due to loss of labor of the slave.⁵¹ In Chowan Precinct in 1718 the court ordered that Thomas Worlsey be given thirty-nine lashes and his servant Nathaniel Ming be given twenty-nine lashes because they shielded a slave who had run away from his owner. The man and his sister were required to go before the governor and his council and give a bond of 500 pounds for shielding a slave guilty of roguery.⁵²

⁴⁸ *State Records*, Vol. XXIII, p. 388.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 388.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 398.

^{50a} *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 776.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 62.

⁵² *Col. Records*, Vol. II, p. 315.

In 1715 a penalty of ten pounds was imposed on those who bought, sold, traded with, borrowed from or loaned anything to a slave or servant who did not have a license or consent of his master.⁵³ The law was made more severe in 1741 by providing a penalty to the master of the slave of three times the value of the commodity exchanged together with a six pounds fine. If the offender could not pay the fine he was to be sold as a servant to satisfy the claim. If the master of the slave did not prosecute the offender within six months any one could do so and procure the fine and forfeiture.⁵³

The slaves with all their restrictions were of great service to the masters at times and often protected them from the Indians. In 1715 many of the leading citizens of the colony petitioned the Lords of Trade for protection and arms. They stated that there were not over 2,000 white men in the colony able to bear arms, but there were 1,600 Negroes, some of whom with precaution could be armed and used as soldiers.⁵⁴ These Negroes made good soldiers, and we do not hear of an instance in which the slaves used their arms and liberty to the detriment of the planters.⁵⁵

Free Negroes by the constitution of 1776 possessed the same suffrage privileges as did the whites, but between 1715 and 1737 the legislature tried to discriminate against free Negroes, for the number of free blacks tended to increase.⁵⁶ A law enacted in 1715 provided that freemen could vote, but no Indian, Negro or mulatto could vote for member of the Assembly which was the only elective office in the colony. This law however was disallowed by the king in his instructions to Governor Johnston in 1737.⁵⁷ The custom of allowing only freeholders the privilege of voting was adhered to in the instructions of the king to the gover-

⁵³ *State Records*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 191-204.

⁵⁴ *Col. Records*, Vol. II, p. 197. They stated that there were 16,000 Negroes in the colony, but it must have been a misprint and only 1,600.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 231.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 214-15.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 214-15; and Vol. IV, p. 251.

nors until 1760 when a law was enacted providing that only freeholders could vote. A freeholder was defined as a person who held in fee simple or for life an estate of fifty acres of land.⁵⁸

We do not know how many Negroes voted in colonial days, but in 1705 a petition was sent to the king signed by members of Parliament in behalf of some of the leading men of Carolina who had signed a petition. The petition stated that servants, Negroes, aliens, Jews and sailors were allowed to vote with great impartiality and injustice in the election of 1703. Likely at this time there were no free Negroes in the colony or very few and this must have referred to slaves. The names signed to the petition were men of what is now South Carolina and not North Carolina, and the petition may not have referred to North Carolina at all.⁵⁹ Free Negroes were very numerous in the colony before 1835 when the convention changed the constitution so that free Negroes could not vote. The advocates of this provision stated that white men voted the free Negroes in great numbers.

The conduct of the slaves was not ideal by any means, and in many sections of the colony the whites lived in mortal fear of a slave insurrection. The fear of the slaves was far greater than the fear of an Indian raid. As early as 1678 Tymothy Briggs wrote the Lords Proprietors to help settle the trouble in North Carolina caused by the great

⁵⁸ *State Records*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 523-24.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 62. A voter for members of the General Assembly must have been an inhabitant of the province for six months, possessed with a freehold of fifty acres of land three months before he voted and be twenty-one years of age. "That every person, who *bona fide*, hath an estate real for his own life time or the life of another, or hath an estate of greater dignity of a sufficient number of acres in the county, which by the law enables him to vote, or be a candidate for such county, shall be accounted a freeholder within the meaning of this act." In Brunswick a tenant of any stone or habitable house with one or more chimneys, if the house was as large as sixteen by twenty feet and if he had lived there for three months, he could vote. A person who owned a house of the above description in fee-simple, fee-tail or for a term of life was a life voter even if no one lived in the house. *State Records*, Vol. XXIII, p. 524.

influx, from the colonies to the North into Carolina, of servants, debtors and slaves. He held that if they were not soon conquered small matters would not suffice for their subjugation.⁶⁰

Richard Skinner and William Felts took an oath in 1705 before the court that they stood in fear of a Negro Dick belonging to Joannah Jeferyes. The Negro was ordered to be taken by the court until Jeferyes should give good security for the slave's behavior.⁶¹

Many outlawed Negroes could be found in the swamps of North Carolina causing great trouble and terror. In 1715 a law was enacted which provided that a person who killed an outlawed slave would not be called to answer for the offense if the slave had been outlawed for two months, and if the party who shot the slave would take an oath that he could not otherwise apprehend the Negro. It was not even a crime to shoot an outlawed slave and the party was not charged with murder.⁶² The names of the slaves who were lurking in the woods, by a law of 1741, were to be published at the doors of the churches. The justices were to send the sheriff and other men to apprehend them, and if slaves would not return to their masters all men were authorized to kill in any possible way these outlawed slaves. He who killed one of these slaves was not accused or imprisoned for the act.⁶³

The people of Wilmington were so afraid of a slave uprising that they had the legislature in 1745 give the town permission to prevent all mobs, cabals, and other gatherings of Negroes especially on Sunday. Four guards were to be appointed, and one of the town commissioners was to stay on duty all the time at the town house. They were to try to prevent riots.⁶⁴ A law of 1753 ordered the county court of each county to divide the county into districts and ap-

⁶⁰ *Col. Records*, Vol. I, p. 248.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 654.

⁶² *State Records*, Vol. XXIII, p. 64.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 201.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 235.

point a watchman over each district. His duty was to search each slave and his house at least four times each year for arms; if arms were found they became the property of the watchman. Each year the watchers were required to swear before the court that they had properly searched for arms among Negroes.⁶⁵

For fear of a slave uprising on muster day in early colonial times a law provided that an overseer who had as many as six slaves under him did not have to attend muster. In 1766 a fine of forty shillings was placed on any overseer who was seen on a general or private muster field.⁶⁶

For religious and other reasons, many people in the colony tried to get servants and slaves to leave their masters. After 1741 those who directly or indirectly tried to persuade servants or slaves to leave their masters or even encourage or assist, harbor, or entertain a slave were to be fined forty shillings, and five shillings for each twelve hours the slave was kept from his master. Should any person so fined refuse to pay the amount he was to be sold as a servant until the fine was fully paid. Anyone who actually persuaded a slave to leave his master was to pay to the owner of the slave twenty-five pounds. If he could not pay the fine he was to serve the master for five years and deliver up the slave or slaves. Any one who sent the slave of another from the colony was subject to prosecution in the courts for felony.⁶⁷

By a law of 1715 only personal slaves and those wearing liveries were allowed to go off the plantation without a pass. Other slaves who did not have passes stating their names, whose slaves they were, where they were from and where they were going, were to be treated as runaway slaves. All persons were authorized to arrest them, turn them over to a magistrate who would punish such slaves before turning them over to their masters. The apprehender

⁶⁵ *State Records*, Vol. XXIII, p. 389.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 761.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 197.

was to receive five shillings for the arrest and one shilling for each mile he traveled with the slave.⁶⁸ If a captured slave could not speak English or refused to divulge the name of his master he was to be lodged in jail and advertised on the door of the court house. In addition each preacher and reader was to advertise the slave from the pulpit for two months under a penalty of five pounds for neglect. If the owner was not found in two months the slave was hired out to pay the expenses of his capture and sale. If the owner was later found he was to pay all expense of the capture and sale. When the slave was hired out he wore an iron collar bearing the initials of P. G.⁶⁹ On his way home each justice was to commit the slave to the next constable with orders to administer not more than thirty-nine lashes on the bare back. Each constable was to treat him in this manner until he reached home or was landed in jail. If he, when captured, was far from home he had a rather severe punishment before he found his master.⁷⁰

Punishment for slaves was very severe and inhuman from the beginning until the end of slavery days. I think one can say that as we approach the Civil War the slaves were better treated. Several factors entered into this, but perhaps the most potent ones were the growing spirit of humanitarianism, the great number of laws passed for the protection of the slaves, and the gradually increasing cost of slaves from year to year. Brickell tells us that he saw a Negro hanged because he had wounded his master, and the owner could not prevent the execution. Often slave owners would bring their slaves to see an execution so as to make it an object lesson to them. Brickell also tells us that he saw slaves beaten until large pieces of skin would hang down from their backs, yet he had never seen one shed a tear.⁷¹ Slaves were put to death for murder and rape on

⁶⁸ *State Records*, Vol. XXIII, p. 62.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 198.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 198.

⁷¹ B. D. W. Connor, *History of North Carolina*; Brickell, *Natural History of North Carolina*.

first offense. For minor offenses they were beaten, and for major offenses often a slave was castrated for the first offense and executed for the second offense. Death was not usually by hanging but by burning at the stake or in some other horrible way. Castration was done by the sheriff who received one pound for each operation and three pounds for curing the slave. Before a slave was castrated he was appraised by the court so as to know how much to pay his owner should he die, but in no case was the master to receive more than sixty pounds for his slave.⁷² The price of a slave who died as a result of castration was raised to eighty pounds a little later. Any court could order that a slave be castrated, and we have records of many operations of this kind. One court was known to order three or four slaves castrated at a single sitting. The depreciation of the slave's value on the market as a result of this operation and the horribleness of the mode of punishment finally led to the repeal of the law.⁷³

Slaves were not imprisoned except until their masters could be found, until they were executed, castrated and healed, or sold as slaves. A law of 1720 stated that the word corporal punishment should not be construed to mean that slaves were to be imprisoned, for this would result in loss to the slave owners and would benefit no one.⁷⁴

Slaves were not tried in the same courts as freemen. After 1715 they were tried by three justices of the precinct court and three freeholders. At least a majority of the freeholders were required to be slaveholders. A mere majority of the court was sufficient to have the slave whipped, dismembered, or executed. If a slave was executed or died as a result of his punishment the owner of the slave was to be paid by a general poll tax on all slaves of the colony.⁷⁵ After 1741 two or more justices and four freemen, a major-

⁷² *State Records*, Vol. XXIII, p. 486.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 489; *Col. Rec.*, Vol. VI, pp. 740, 742; *State Records*, Vol. XXII, pp. 834, 837, 839, 850.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 169-70.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 64.

ity of which freemen held slaves, could try a slave. They could receive evidence from whites, free Negroes, Indians, mulattoes and slaves, but these courts were not so formal as the regular courts, and we know of no appeals from these courts. These courts were freely authorized to put to death all who deserved it. If three or more slaves consulted, advised or conspired to rebel or make an insurrection or even plotted to conspire they were guilty of a felony and given the death sentence.⁷⁶

The price paid by the state for an executed slave depended on the value of the slave, the time of execution and the value of money. By a law of 1756 the owner of a slave could not receive more than sixty pounds for an executed slave, but it was soon raised to eighty pounds. It was raised several times in colonial history. In 1779 a law stated that no master could procure more than 700 pounds current money for an executed slave. This was for a prime field hand, and other slaves were paid for in proportion.⁷⁷ Two years later the law fixed the price of an executed slave at the same figures, but provided that the slave must be valued before his execution, and then the master would be paid only half the value of the slave.⁷⁸

The fact that the state paid for outlawed slaves when they were killed led many masters to offer a much greater reward for his runaway slave brought in dead than alive. Often an advertisement in the paper would give the picture of a slave running away with a stick across his shoulder on which was a bundle of clothes, under which after giving a description of the Negro were such words as these: One pound for his return alive and fifty pounds for his return dead. After 1753 no outlawed slave who was killed or any slave who was executed was to be paid for unless the master could prove that he had been sufficiently clothed and had received during the previous year a quart of corn

⁷⁶ *State Records*, Vol. XXIII, p. 202.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 282.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 383.

each day. If the slaves of a master who did not feed and clothe his slaves stole from the neighbors the owner of the slaves was responsible for damages and court cost.⁷⁹ If a master allowed his slaves to hire themselves out he could not receive pay for them if they were killed as outlaws or were executed for theft or other crimes.⁸⁰ If a slave transported to the colony for crime was afterwards convicted the master was to receive no pay unless he could take an oath that at the time of purchase he did not know of the slave's conviction.⁸¹

The government was called on so often to pay for convicted slaves that a law was enacted in 1786 which stated that since many people by cruel treatment caused slaves to commit crimes for which they were executed, after that date the government would pay for no more slaves who were executed.⁸² If a slave was killed in dispersing unlawful assemblies, catching rebel or runaway slaves, the colony would pay the owner for the loss unless the owner through a damage suit against the person who killed the slave procured judgment for the loss.⁸³

We have records of the payment for many slaves who died as a result of castration, killed as outlaws or were executed by the courts. The price varied from thirty to seven hundred pounds, depending on the slave, conditions of death, and time of execution or death. As a general rule the price increased as we approach the Revolution. This was not always true, for in 1748 George Reynolds received 450 pounds for a slave who was accidentally killed while assisting in giving the alarm about the arrival of the Spanish fleet in Wilmington.⁸⁴ Twelve years later the Assembly paid William Peacock only fifty pounds for a slave who

⁷⁹ *State Records*, Vol. XXIII, p. 478.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 478.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 478.

⁸² *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 809.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 203.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 277.

was burned in Duplin County for murder.⁸⁵ Two years before this Lewis De Bassett was allowed only seventy-five pounds for a slave who had been outlawed in New Hanover and who was burned in Northampton jail when a mob burned the jail to get rid of the Negro.⁸⁶ Richard Brown- ing was allowed 216 pounds for three Negroes who in 1770 were executed for felony.⁸⁷ Many other cases show how the colony spent large sums of money for executed slaves. A claim was made in 1769 for an outlawed Negro woman who had been drowned while fleeing from her pursuers, but since a similar claim had never come before the Assembly her owner did not receive any pay for her.⁸⁸

Execution of slaves in colonial North Carolina was a very common occurrence and increased as we approach the Revolution. In 1769 the clerk of New Hanover was allowed seven pounds for seven Negroes who were executed.⁸⁹ The next year three whites and four Negroes were executed for felony in the same county.⁹⁰

In colonial North Carolina the slaves had no rights which the whites were bound to respect. They could not enter the courts for justice, but were treated as the whites saw fit to treat them. As early as 1689 the Lords Proprietors accused Governor Sothel of wilfully detaining a Negro, John Stewart, who did not belong to him.⁹¹ One of the charges against Governor Burrington in 1732 was that seven slaves stolen from the Spanish in Florida had been brought to the Cape Fear, which slaves he took from the purchasers under the pretext of returning them to Florida. He then refused to give them to the Spanish agent or return them to the purchasers.⁹²

⁸⁵ *State Records*, Vol. XXII, p. 834.

⁸⁶ *Col. Records*, Vol. V, p. 976.

⁸⁷ *State Records*, Vol. XXII, p. 858.

⁸⁸ *Col. Records*, Vol. VIII, p. 102.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 142.

⁹⁰ *State Records*, Vol. XXII, p. 854.

⁹¹ *Col. Records*, Vol. I, p. 369.

⁹² *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 362.

Outlawed and other slaves were sometimes sold with the understanding that they were to be taken from the colony.⁹³ These slaves were sometimes sold by the government and the proceeds applied to the building of roads or churches.⁹⁴ In the French and Indian War the pension for a wounded soldier was a good slave. If the soldier was killed his wife was to receive a good slave.⁹⁵

Slaves had very few property rights, and what few they had were respected when the masters saw fit to do so. A law of 1741 prohibited slaves from raising horses, cattle or hogs. After six months should a slave be found in the possession of such animals the stock was to be sold. Half of the price was to go to the informer and the other half to the church.⁹⁶ This law if not repealed was never rigidly enforced for many of the slaves raised stock as well as vegetables. Miss Schaw informs us that the daily allowance for each slave was a quart of corn from the day of his birth to the day of his death. She further said that the slave had a piece of land which he cultivated for himself in a much better way than he cultivated the land of his master; that they were allowed to raise pigs and a garden, and were much better provided for than the poor whites in the colony.⁹⁷

The Lords Proprietors considered that slaves had no feeling or rights. The Fundamental Constitutions gave the master absolute power over his slaves. Burrington, the first governor after the colony became a royal domain, was instructed to have a law passed to restrain any inhuman severity of masters towards their servants and slaves, to punish those who killed Indians and Negroes by death, and to provide a severe punishment for those who maimed slaves.⁹⁸ These same instructions were given to Governor Dobbs

⁹³ *Col. Records*, Vol. VI, p. 680.

⁹⁴ *State Records*, Vol. XXIII, p. 537.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXV, p. 335.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 201.

⁹⁷ Andrews, Evangeline Walker, *Journal of a Lady of Quality*, p. 177.

⁹⁸ *Col. Records*, Vol. III, p. 106.

in 1754. A bill providing for these things passed the Assembly, but was rejected on its third reading in the Council.⁹⁹ By 1774 killing slaves had become so common that a law was enacted which stated that if a person killed a slave wilfully or maliciously he should be tried by the same laws as if he killed a white person, and on conviction he should be imprisoned twelve months. On the second conviction the murderer was to suffer death without the benefit of clergy. If the slave belonged to another, the murderer was to pay the owner of the slave the value placed on him by the court, and remain in jail until the full amount was paid.¹⁰⁰ This law did not apply to outlawed slaves, those who died under moderate correction or to slaves killed while resisting their masters. However, it was of little benefit to the slaves, for owners would say that the slave was killed while resisting or died under moderate punishment. As the Negroes had no rights in the courts and usually the witnesses were all Negroes it was hard to prove that the masters were not telling the truth.

Most of the early settlers in North Carolina feared neither God nor man, and took little interest in religion for themselves and less for their slaves. They paid little attention to the Fundamental Constitutions of 1669 which stated that it should be lawful for slaves as well as others to enter themselves and be of whatever church and profession they thought best and be as fully members as freemen. This, however, was not to exempt a slave from the dominion his master had over him, but in all other respects he was to remain in the same condition and state as before.¹⁰¹

Besides the indifference of the whites concerning the religion of their slaves many thought that it was illegal to hold a Christian in bondage; but since Negroes were pagans it was no sin to enslave them. In 1709 James Adams, a preacher for the Church of England in North Carolina com-

⁹⁹ *Col. Records*, Vol. V, p. 1122.

¹⁰⁰ *State Records*, Vol. XXIII, p. 975.

¹⁰¹ *Col. Records*, Vol. II, p. 857.

plained because the slave owners would by no means permit their slaves to be baptized because they had a false notion that by an unwritten law a Christian slave was free. He reported that a few of the slaves were instructed in religion, but had not been baptized.¹⁰² Three years later James Rainford wrote from Chowan that he had great trouble inducing Martin to allow baptism to be administered to his three slaves. In 1715 he wrote that during the year he had baptized upwards of forty Negroes in North Carolina and Virginia. Taylor in 1719 reported from Perquimans that he had baptized five slaves belonging to Mr. Duchenfield. He had prepared the others for this ceremony, but the master had refused their request until the British Parliament would pass a law that slaves would not obtain their freedom by baptism.¹⁰³

In 1715 a law was passed which provided a fine of fifty pounds, one-half to the government and the other half to the informer, for any person who allowed a Negro or Negroes to build a meeting house for worship on any pretense whatever. This law was to be read in all the churches on the first Sunday in March and the first Sunday in October. It was also to be read by the county clerk at court in April and in October.¹⁰⁴ It seems that after about 1735 more Negroes were baptized. That year Richard Marsden wrote the Bishop of London that he had baptized about 1,300 whites and some slaves in the Cape Fear section.¹⁰⁵ Seven years later another missionary in New Hanover reported that there were 1000 whites and 2000 slaves in that section and that he had baptized 307 of the former and nine of the latter.¹⁰⁶ In 1760 James Reed reported that there were about 1,000 heathen and infidels about New Bern. He classed most of the Negroes as heathen claiming that the preachers were not allowed to teach them religion. Realiz-

¹⁰² *Col. Records*, Vol. I, p. 720.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 332-33.

¹⁰⁴ *State Records*, Vol. XXIII, p. 65.

¹⁰⁵ *Col. Records*, Vol. IV, p. 13.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 605.

ing how little the average slave knew about religion, he would only baptize those whose security the master was willing to become.¹⁰⁷ After 1760 there was not so much opposition on the part of the masters to the slaves being baptized. In that year Alexander Stewart reported that he baptized 253 whites and sixty-two blacks in six months in the neighborhood of Bath.¹⁰⁸ The next year he reported fifty-nine whites and eleven Negroes baptized.¹⁰⁹ In 1766 he wrote from Northampton that in thirteen months he had baptized 174 whites and 168 blacks. In Edgecomb he baptized 129 whites and four blacks in three days. He was a most zealous worker among the Negroes and reported that they were very desirous of religious instruction.¹¹⁰ By 1760 most of the sections of the colony allowed the preachers to instruct the slaves in religion if they cared to do so. However, few were willing to attempt to teach them. Mr. Taylor made the Negroes learn the catechism and understand the principles of the Bible and baptism before he would baptize them.¹¹¹

We know that Governor Dobbs received instructions to have the Council and Assembly devise some means for converting the Negroes. Governor Tryon received like instruction and perhaps Governor Johnston. We cannot say that the converted Negro fared any better than the unconverted one. Likely they were the ones who stayed about the home. These later became missionaries to the field hands. Those Negroes who were converted were usually allowed to attend family worship.¹¹²

In order to keep down dissensions and prevent the Negroes from assembling in large numbers they were not allowed to have a church of their own before 1741. However, they worshiped in the same churches as the whites,

¹⁰⁷ *Col. Records*, Vol. VI, p. 265.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 315.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 563.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 326.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 332.

¹¹² *Hawks, History of North Carolina*, Vol. II, p. 229.

and many of the churches had a special section or gallery for the Negroes.¹¹³

We do not know how extensively the Quakers preached among the Negroes, nor the amount of success they had. They were more friendly to the blacks than any other denomination. Fox and Edmundson both favored teaching the slaves the Christian religion. The Friends soon left Eastern North Carolina and moved into the Piedmont where there were not so many Negroes. In 1758 at the yearly meeting it was agreed that at four places in the colony at regular intervals the Negroes were to be instructed in religion and that those who had slaves should have them attend services. By 1776 the Quakers were abolitionists and desired that all Negroes should be made Christians. They even tried to force their members to free their slaves. Many left the colony and went to the North West where there were no slaves.¹¹⁴

We know little about the attitude of the Baptists towards Negro baptism although they came into the colony in its earliest days. They received Negroes into their churches; and a Mr. Barnett, a missionary of the Church of England, said that they even allowed Negroes to speak at their meetings.¹¹⁵ They held to the idea that it was the duty of every master to allow his slaves to attend family worship, and that each slave owner should try to convince his slaves that as a duty they should attend.¹¹⁶

Likely the Presbyterians, Lutherans, and members of the Dutch Reformed Church held about the same attitude towards Negro Christians that the Established Church did and left all in the hands of the preachers.

The Methodists entered the colony too late to be a great force in the life of the slaves in colonial days, but played an important part in the life of the slaves a little later.

The slave's social life was rather meager; nor was he

¹¹³ *Col. Records*, Vol. VI, p. 730.

¹¹⁴ Bassett, *Slavery and Servitude in Colonial North Carolina*, p. 51.

¹¹⁵ *Col. Records*, Vol. VII, p. 164.

¹¹⁶ Bassett, *Slavery and Servitude in Colonial North Carolina*, pp. 51-55.

capable of a very high form of society. Mr. Taylor gave the slaves of North Carolina an excellent reputation. He claimed that those of Mr. Duchenfield and the other slaves with whom he came into contact were as sensible, civil and as much inclined to things which were civil as any slaves he had ever seen. He was certain that they would gladly be baptized and converted if their masters were not so wicked and so strenuously opposed to their conversion.¹¹⁷ Perhaps he was too optimistic over his success of teaching the catechism to the slaves. However, he was a most wonderful worker among them and did a great deal of good. Brickell divided them into two classes. Those who had recently arrived from Guinea and those reared in the colony. He claimed that the latter were much more manageable than the former who would often rebel, hide out in the woods and swamps, and commit depredations on the property of the whites.¹¹⁸

The intermarriage of slaves was a matter of little ceremony. If the two contracting parties did not belong to the same master they had to procure the masters' consent before getting married. The owner of the slaves had to agree to the match when he did not tell the Negro man which woman he was to marry. The groom would usually offer the bride a toy or brass ring and if she accepted, the match was considered consummated. Sometimes the groom would jump over a broom handle or stick to the side of the bride to indicate that the match was binding and sometimes they would both jump over the stick. If a couple separated the gift was returned, which was a very common thing among the slaves. Slaves of different plantations often got married, but when this was done a license or written agreement was required of the masters. Brickell tells us that if a slave woman bore no children within two or three years after her marriage she was obliged to take a second husband. This process was often repeated until

¹¹⁷ *Col. Records*, Vol. II, pp. 331-32.

¹¹⁸ Brickell, *Natural History of North Carolina*.

some women had taken the fifth or sixth husband or bed fellow, because the planters valued a fruitful woman very highly and esteemed a numerous issue as great riches.¹¹⁹ The question of divorce was considered among the slaves and their masters about as we today consider the sexual relations between animals. The children belonged to the owner of the mother, and most masters endeavored to rear them carefully so as to make the best laborers possible. Slaves were very jealous of their wives and were anxious to get a little money so as to buy for them toys, bracelets, ribbons or the like.¹²⁰

The intermarriage between whites and Negroes was very undesirable. A law of 1715 prohibited a white person from marrying a Negro, mulatto, or Indian. The white contracting party who violated this law was fined fifty pounds. The same fine was imposed on the clergyman who performed the ceremony. Half of the fine went to the informer and the other half to the public bridge or courthouse fund or to the Lords Proprietors.¹²¹ This law did not prevent clergymen from joining together whites and blacks, for within two years we have two ministers brought into court for violating the statute. The case against John Cotton who married a mulatto man to a white woman seems to have died in the court. He did not appear in court and likely the case was never settled.¹²² In the other instance the minister so as to save half the fine went to the chief justice and confessed.¹²³ Since the records of this case have been lost we do not know what disposition was made of it.¹²⁴ We do not know how extensively the practice of intermarriage between whites and blacks was in the colony, but in 1723 complaints were made that a great number of free Negroes,

¹¹⁹ Bassett, *Slavery and Servitude in Colonial North Carolina*; Bricknell, *Natural History of Carolina*, pp. 272-75.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 272-75.

¹²¹ *State Records*, Vol. XXIII, p. 64.

¹²² *Col. Records*, Vol. II, pp. 591, 594, 602.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 672.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 704, 711.

mulattoes and people of mixed blood had intermarried with the whites in defiance of the laws. A law was enacted that year that all free Negroes, mulattoes, etc., were taxables and should pay tax if over twelve years of age, both male and female. Any white person married to a Negro, mulatto, mustee or person of mixed blood was to pay taxes and tithes.¹²⁵

There was considerable intermarriage between slaves and free Negroes. Sometimes a Negro would give up his freedom in order to marry a slave. There was a great deal of cohabiting between slaves and free Negroes. In 1787 a law was passed which stated that if a free Negro cohabited with or married a slave without the consent of the master in writing he should pay the master ten pounds or one year's servitude.¹²⁶ Many of the masters did not apparently object to this illicit mode of life between the free Negroes and slaves.

Miss Schaw informs us that the men of North Carolina were very fond of illicit relations with their Negro women so as to increase their number of slaves.¹²⁷ Brickell who was a physician in the colony in the early part of the eighteenth century tells us that the white men of Carolina suffered a great deal from a malignant form of venereal disease which they caught from the slaves.¹²⁸ The slaves apparently did not object to this, for they were property of whites, souls and bodies.

If the whites did not try to teach the slaves religion it is not likely that they would strive to teach them to read and write. As conditions became more settled some of the household servants were taught to read and write, but this was usually done by the women and children. In 1763 the Reverend Mr. Stewart wrote that "Dr. Bray's Associates" had a society for conducting a school for Indians and Negroes. He was superintendent of these schools in North

¹²⁵ *State Records*, Vol. XXIII, p. 106.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 891.

¹²⁷ Andrews, *Journal of a Lady of Quality*.

¹²⁸ Brickell, *Natural History of Carolina*, p. 48.

Carolina, but he had only eight Indians and two Negro boys in his schools.¹²⁹ He made a strong appeal to the people for support for his work, but no startling results followed. Brickell about 1731 tells us that there were many slaves who had been born in the colony who could read and write. We must take this report with a grain of salt, for his work was written to procure settlers for the colony.¹³⁰

When the first Negroes were made free in North Carolina we are unable to say. Nor do we know how numerous they were. The planters hated free Negroes because they tended to undermine the system of slavery. A law of 1715 stated that no master could free his slaves who had run away or who could not be managed, but he could free slaves as a reward for honest and faithful service. The freed Negro, however, must leave the "government" within six months. If he failed to leave he was sold for five years to a person who would give security for his transportation.¹³¹ The law was evaded by taking free Negroes from the colony for a short time and then bringing them back. A law of 1723 stated that since many free Negroes had returned to the colony, it was the duty of all men to take up the Negroes even if they were free. They were then to be sold for seven years. After which time they had six months in which to leave North Carolina. If one returned and remained longer than a month he was to be sold for another seven years. After the cost of the sale was paid half the remainder went to the apprehender and the other half to the "government." Any person who concealed one of these Negroes under pretense of debt after he had been sold was to be fined 100 pounds with half of the fine going to the informer and the other half to the "government."¹³² The law of 1740 declared that no slave could be set free except for meritorious deeds, but the county court alone was to be the judge as to when his deeds were meritorious. If the court ap-

¹²⁹ *Col. Records*, Vol. VI, pp. 995-96.

¹³⁰ Brickell, *op. cit.* p. 275.

¹³¹ *State Records*, Vol. XXIII, p. 65.

¹³² *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 106.

proved of the freedom of a slave it would grant a license to the master who could free his slave. If the slave was set free on any other grounds the church wardens were to arrest the Negro at the end of six months and sell him for the benefit of the church. After this date if a freed slave should return and remain in the colony more than a month the church wardens were to arrest him and sell him for the church.¹³³ This law let the free Negroes liberated for meritorious deeds by the courts remain in the colony, but drove the others out. However, free Negroes from the other colonies flocked into Carolina. Also the children of white women by Negro men were free. There was not much incentive for a Negro to be free. The whites plotted against him, he had to bear arms, pay taxes, and work on the roads so many days each year. The Negro with his liberty taken from him was in many instances as well if not better provided for than the free Negro, and some say he was better cared for than the poor whites.

Slavery was a system of labor thought by many to be almost indispensable to the development of the South. It was necessarily cruel and barbarous in its method of capture and labor. After the Negroes were here the people lived in bodily fear of being massacred by them. Slavery did police the Negroes, and there was practically no other way to control them. Many people would have gladly given up their slaves if the country could have been rid of them, but this was impossible. After the Civil War the Negro problem was a serious one, but the Negro of 1865 was a different being from the Negro of 1700 or 1776. By this time he had lived long enough to absorb many of the white man's traits and was better able to take his place in the world of freemen. When the slaves were freed there were not many among them, who had been born in Africa. Although we were the last civilized nation to free the slaves the system was never so firmly rooted in any other civilization as in the United States.

JAMES A. PADGETT

¹³³ *State Records*, Vol. XXIII, p. 203.

NIGERIAN POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

The Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria is situated on the northern shores of the Gulf of Guinea, that great arm of the sea which indents the western coast of Africa. It is bounded on the west and north by French Western Equatorial Africa and on the east by the former German Cameroons. The area of Nigeria is approximately 335,000 square miles, and thus it is larger than any other British dependency with the exception of India and the self-governing dominions. It is nearly three times the size of the United Kingdom.¹

The population of Nigeria is 19,000,000, larger than that of any other British dependency except India. There are 5,000 Europeans resident in Nigeria. Of the inhabitants there are various tribes with different dialects, viz.: Hausas, Yorubas, Ibos, Fulanis, Nupes, Kanuris, Benis, Kwa-Ibos, Ijaws, Jekris, and Efiks. The Hausas, Yorubas and Ibos, being among the most populous and more important for this theme, or in other words these three tribes, being the tap-root of the superstructure of Nigerian political institutions, we shall hereafter devote the rest of these pages to them.

The history of British occupation of Nigeria is not without the tinge of "imperialistic attitude" generally played by exploiting colonists. The coast of Nigeria became known to Europe in the latter part of the twelfth century as a result of Portuguese explorations. Shortly afterwards the demand for Negro labor in the Western Hemisphere led to the exportation of slaves from Western Equatorial Africa.² With the decline of the slave traffic, trade in palm oil industry rapidly increased, and visits of naval ships and also of the British Consul at Fernando Po (a Spanish islet on the west coast), gave to the British a considerable prestige and influence among the tribes of the coastal towns of Nigeria.³

¹ *Nigeria: Its History and Product*, p. 2.

² Morel, E. D., *The Black Man's Burden*, p. 15.

³ *Nigeria: Its History and Product*, p. 2.

Through the explorations of various adventurers, among whom were Mungo Park, Captain Clapperton, Richard Lander, Dr. Heinrich Barth and McGregor Laird, Europeans succeeded in disclosing the course of River Niger, whose total length is 2,600 miles, rising from the Futa Jalon mountains of Sierra Leone and flowing through the Niger Delta into the bights of Benin and Biafra. Thus in 1860 the British established "factories" on the Niger, and in 1861 Lagos, the capital of Nigeria, was ceded to the British crown, by a treaty made by the Prince Docemo and the British. In 1879 the various British trading firms formed a merger, and in 1887 Queen Victoria granted them a charter for "The Royal Niger Company, Limited." By this charter the company was made responsible "for the government of the river basins and the whole of Hausaland."

The Berlin Conference of 1885 recognized the British claims to a protectorate over Nigeria and that part of the country which was not included in the Lagos territories was transformed into a separate administration and became known as the Niger Coast Protectorate. This Protectorate was placed directly under the control of the Foreign Office.

Due to the economic evils attendant on trade monopolies and combines, coupled with the inability of the Royal Niger Company to suppress the slave-raiding propensities of the Fulani Chiefs, and also due to foreign aggression (notably France and Germany) on the frontiers, the company's charter was revoked on January 1, 1900, and Great Britain assumed full control of Nigeria. At that time the country was divided into Lagos Colony, the Niger Coast Protectorate, and the Northern Nigeria Protectorate. In 1898 an imperial force had been recruited locally by British officers and was called "The West African Frontier Force." The armed constabularies of the other West African colonies were modelled after it. This force was designed to protect Nigerian frontiers against foreign aggression and to subdue the Mohammedan rulers of the Hausa states to the north.

The history of Nigeria cannot be complete without refer-

ence to the various uprisings of the native chiefs against foreign imperialism. From 1796 to 1923 there were many riotous insurrections against the rights of England to "protect Nigeria without the consent of the people." In each instance armed expeditions were dispatched, and after numerous bloody encounters the natives were either coerced or had to abide by the stipulations in formal treaties agreeable to their "protectors." In 1914, the British amalgamated the various protectorates of Nigeria into one indivisible administration under the name, "The Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria."⁴

Our chief concern here, however, is to consider the natives and their institutions. According to Morel,⁵ the Hausas belong to the family clan of Gober—the Goberawa race, which fact is admitted by Arabic historians and authorities on antiquities. In his *Historical Account of the Kingdom of Tek-Roor* quoted by J. Scott Keltie, Sultan Mohammed Bello of Hoosa, says that the Hausas are "free born because their origin was from the Copts of Egypt who had emigrated into the interior of the Gharb or western countries." Heinrich Barth, the noted German explorer and ethnologist, identifies the Hausas with the Atarantians of Herodotus. He further states that the Hausas inhabit an area of 250,000 square miles in the western and central Soudan, from River Niger to Bornu. They were known to the Portuguese in the twelfth century and were well known by Arab geographers several centuries earlier.⁶ So far as Nigeria is concerned the Hausas occupied the greater portion of Northern Nigeria and "from an early date, had attained a fairly high level of civilization."⁷ Their language has become the *lingua franca* of the western Soudan.

Barth⁸ submits that the authentic source of Hausa political life dates back to the middle ages, when the Hausas

⁴ *Nigeria: Its History and Product*, pp. 9-10.

⁵ Morel, E. D., *Problemes de l'ouest Africain*, p. 53.

⁶ Barth, Heinrich, *Travels in North and Central Africa*, p. 270.

⁷ *Nigeria: Its History and Product*, p. 4.

⁸ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vols. XIII and XIV, vide "Hausa."

attained political power and divided their domain into seven great states, namely: Biram, Daura, Gober, Kano, Katsena, Bornu and Zegzeg. Their system of law and government was excellent in theory according to the eminent German ethnologist, and is still the basis of judicial procedure in the native administrations of the Emirates today. For a time this confederation became a power in western equatorial Africa, and like a comet that flashes and vanishes into obscurity, this confederacy with its political grandeur and pomposity, became rather imperialistic in its policy to add to their jurisdiction the nearby states, known today as Senegal, Khartoum, Soudan, Sahara, Dahomey, Togoland and the districts south of the Nile. Their judicial system, which is their legacy to modern jurisprudence and government, became corrupted with partiality; politics entered their judicature, and the Fulani Emirs practiced tyranny by extorting from the people exorbitant taxes. They also aided Portuguese fiends in slave-raiding on an extensive scale till their confederation of states became very degenerate.

CONQUEST BY ALIENS

During this time Europe was sizzling with a series of wars with Turkey. The Turks were preaching the Holy War and were ravaging the districts of Arabia and Asia Minor. Having conquered parts of Europe and Asia suited to his creed, Sheikh Ottman Dan Fodio, the great Turkish general, began to wage an assault on these Hausa kingdoms in 1810, and finally demolished their political power and assumed for Turkey a *de facto* sovereignty. He made a treaty with the Emirs of these confederate states and established the Fula Empire of Sokoto.

With the settlement of the British on the Niger and the gradual decline of Turkey as a world power, Great Britain, France and other powers started their scramble for colonial possessions. By a series of international arbitrations, France was given certain territories now known as French Equatorial Africa and Great Britain combined the emi-

rates of Kano, Katsena, Bornu and Sokoto as the protectorate of Northern Nigeria.⁹

"The Yorubas occupy the southwest corner of Nigeria and from an early date possessed an organized government. . . . At one time of considerable power and comparative importance, the Yoruba kingdom was broken up by a series of internecine wars for which the slave trade was largely responsible; and when British influence began to spread over the country, it was divided up between a number of small states."¹⁰

The Yorubas, like the Ibos, claim common descent from the powerful Benin Kingdom which terrorized earlier colonists in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Due to family aberrations the sons of the Oba of Benin City—the Ados and the Idus (i.e., Yorubas and Ibos)—we are told, renounced their rights to the throne and wandered in opposite directions to seek for new kingdoms. The Yorubas are therefore akin to the Benis. But unlike the Hausas and the Ibos, the Yoruban has a metaphysical conception of the state. According to Leo Frobenius,¹¹ "the state of Yoruba is a kingdom, its head is the Alafin (the overlord) of the metropolitan city of Oyo." The Yoruban believes in the unity of religion (church) and the state, for all temporal powers are subservient to the divine will, whose representative on earth is the Oni of Ife (the Pontiff of the City of God).

From this idealistic concept of the state the Yorubas have deviated from absolute monarchy to limited monarchy, or what I prefer to call monarchical republicanism. By this, the state is ruled by the King, while sovereignty resides in the Ogbonis, who are the representatives of the people. The Ogbonis belong to a secret society, whose functions I shall treat in the next paragraph. To supplement their "federal" state, the Yorubas have also established a sys-

⁹ Keltie, J. Scott, *The Partition of Africa*.

¹⁰ *Nigeria: Its History and Product*, p. 3.

¹¹ Frobenius, Leo, *The Voice of Africa*, Vol. I, p. 171.

tem of municipal administration, by appointing a Bale (Mayor), whose chief duty is to defend the city with an adequate police force, and to work in harmony with the executive and judicial departments of the state.

The Ogbonis¹² veil their activities in mysticism. Their main function is to check the king and to protect the interest of the people. They have power to elect other Ogbonis and can depose the king if it is found expedient. They can appoint successors to kings. When a new king is elected by the Ogbonis, there are three conditions upon which his eligibility hinges. First, the candidate must be a "free born" and of direct descent of the ruling house; secondly, he must be morally responsible and mentally fit; thirdly, he must enter into a solemn contract with the Ogbonis that (1) he agrees to be generally accessible to the Ogbonis and to give ear to their grievances, (2) he promises to judge every case fairly and not allow himself to be influenced by the social position of either party, and (3) he vows to champion the cause of the oppressed. The Ogbonis are a force in the political life of the Yorubas since their functions are legislative, but they generally act as a board of ephors, to mediate between the king and the people.

In any form of government there is generally an autocratic power in the hands of the governing few, and the Yorubas are no exception to this principle. With reference to the franchise, the Yorubas have a qualified or limited suffrage. For example, only Ogbonis are eligible to vote at elections; women could vote, but there is a restriction that only those whose fiftieth birthday falls before election day can vote. (Lunar years are meant in this instance.) Another stipulation is that only those of aristocratic descent are eligible to public office. Elections are generally held in the public market, and after the ceremonies, which is appropriately the inauguration, the nominee is crowned with Akoko leaves, and he makes his oath based on the three promises stated above.

¹² Frobenius, Leo, *Op. Cit.*, p. 178.

The Yoruban regards the mechanism of the state as hinging on the executive and judicial branches of the administration. He, therefore, regards the Alafin (king), the Ogbonis (senators), the Balogun (prime minister) and his six assistants as the executive division. The judicial division consists of the Bale (mayor), his deputy, Djagun, the executioner (governor of prisons), Ologbo (chief justice), Shobalodgu and colleagues ("counselors learned in the law"). These two branches of the government machinery are subservient to the Oni of Ife (the Pontiff of the City of God), who receives divine power directly from God and transfers this power (sovereignty) to the people through the Ogbonis.¹³

The Ibos, who inhabit the Onitsha Province and adjacent provincial territories, owe their origin to Benin City. It is related that Chima, the heir apparent to the throne of Benin City, renounced all his rights and mobilized an army which engaged in a dastard skirmish with his father and brother. This culminated in the civil war which later reduced Benin to her present stage of oblivion. This incident happened in the beginning of the seventeenth century. We learn that this revolt was instigated by the sympathizers of Chima who wanted him to avenge his father's favoritism to the other members of the royal family. This war lasted for several weeks, but Chima realized the futility of a civil war; and so he convened an elders' meeting and by night fled to Onitsha, which has since become the center of Ibo culture.¹⁴

Basden¹⁵ says that the fall of Benin later by colonial aggression led to a general disruption of the Niger territories. The Ibos, who hereafter shall be called Onitshans, conquered the Ozes, who are a large unorganized tribe, and entered into a social compact thus:

"Chima then led our country men
By the swift River Niger side,

¹³ Frobenius, Leo, *Op. Cit.*, p. 184.

¹⁴ Azikiwe and Umunna, *Onitsha Laws and Customs* (in preparation).

¹⁵ Basden, G. T., *Among the Ibos of Nigeria*, p. 18.

Across the delta district fen,
Any mean traitor, woe betide!

This is the time to judge a state
That hath some sterling qualities,
For kingship matters now relate
To questions of equalities.

The elders of our men contrived
That he whose *ufie* doth resound
Before the emigrants arrived,
Should be their King and rule them all.¹⁶

The nature of this social compact is that the individual who is able to make a tomtom (*ufie*) which will resound and flash the message of their safety and arrival in a new territory, would automatically be their king. This is a severe test of endurance and strength, for a tomtom of this nature takes more than a week to perfect. Oreze, the first son of Chima, perfected his *ufie* first and relegated his rights to his father, Chima, who was thereafter made King of Onitsha.

When Chima assumed kingship duties he entered into another social contract with the people when he promised his adherents from Benin (now known as Ogbeabuans and Umuarolians), by oath, that their descendants shall henceforth be nobles and that kings should be selected from their clans in rotation. He then created nine duchies, and subdivided them into earldoms. He also appointed from his loyal survivors of the Benin Civil War several peers and established an order of Ozo for chiefs.

Sumner¹⁷ in his book, states that folkways and mores are social forces in the process of social adaptability. Hence Chima's social edicts have become the mores and customs of his people today. He ordered that only "free born" (due to slavery in those days) were eligible for high offices.

¹⁶ Azikiwe, B. N., *Onitsha Tales and Legends* (in preparation).

¹⁷ Sumner, W. G., *Folkways*, p. 223.

He barred aliens from chieftaincies and commanded that only "sons of the soil" could be peers. To a great extent these edicts of his are still incorporate in the unwritten laws and customs of the Onitshans.¹⁸

Among his reconstruction efforts, he created a cabinet of elders, and a military council—consisting of dukes and princes—to advise and check his activities. The military council is legislative in its character, for it can declare war, pass laws, impeach the king and elect his successor according to precedents of native laws and customs. He further established the position of Ogenne (prime minister) who is chairman of the cabinet and military council.

During his reign Onitsha became so successful that it started what I might rightly term political imperialism. With his army, he invaded Obosi and forced them to submit to the sovereignty of Onitsha and conquered the outlying territories, which till 1900 were doing homage to the King of Onitsha.¹⁹ When Obi Anazonwu came to the throne he proclaimed a laissez-faire ordinance and argued with the British traders and missionaries the natural rights of his people. After several warnings to the British and missionaries to leave his people alone with their "false religion of a god who had no wife, yet he had a son," he started a series of well-planned loots of missionary stations and trading "factories." Once he received in his court Dr. Adjai Crowther (the first African Bishop) and a provocative argument ensued. Anazonwu insisted that the contact of white missionaries and his people was demoralizing and asked him to make them leave Onitsha immediately. He went to the extreme in asking the Bishop to order white missionaries to paint their faces with *uli* (a sort of fluid which blackens one's face) so that there be no more racial differences in the color of the people and the missionaries.²⁰

Simultaneous with this came the defense of Onitsha in 1879 against the well-drilled British Marine blue-jackets of the man-o'-war, the *H.M.S. Pioneer*, which through a mes-

¹⁸ Azikiwe and Umunna, *Op. Cit.* (in preparation).

¹⁹ Basden, G. T., p. 202.

²⁰ Azikiwe and Umunna, *Op. Cit.* (in preparation).

senger asked for unconditional surrender. King Anazonwu ordered that the white "leper" be killed as he regarded the message he brought an insult to his suzerainty. Under this circumstance Onitsha was bombed and destroyed, but no one was taken prisoner when peace was made. Again in 1900 Onitsha fostered its propaganda of nationalism to a high water mark when it revolted against the British, but had to yield to the demands of the modernly equipped British army under the then Colonel Lugard (now Lord Lugard), after a hectic struggle which lasted over five years.²¹

With the revocation of the charter of the Royal Niger Company in 1900 and the consolidation of Northern and Southern Nigeria in 1914, England abolished all traditional sovereignty of the various tribes and made all Nigeria subject to His Imperial Majesty. It was not so easy to compel natives to renounce their traditional allegiance for a new sovereign overlord, but by subjugation and conquest culminating in the Ijebu-Ode Expedition, the Oil Rivers Expedition, the Ekumeku Rising and various other expeditions against the powerful Fulani Chiefs of Northern Nigeria, Great Britain became the imperial ruler of Nigeria.

In accordance with British Colonial policy, British autocracy was asserted in the bureaucratic administration of Nigeria, in the inception of the Nigerian Legislative Council in the division of Nigeria into twenty-two provinces (non-sovereign states), and in the abolition of chieftaincies in most localities.

Nigeria today has the following departments or bureaus, viz.: Northern, Central and Southern Secretariats, Judicial, Legal, Police, Education, Marine, Treasury, Survey, Land, Agriculture, Forestry, Mines, Veterinary, Medical, Sanitary, Audit, and Public Works departments. Each of the above departments has a head or director with a deputy director and a coterie or staff maintained by the revenue of Nigeria.

The Legislative Council of Nigeria had its inception in

²¹ *Nigeria: Its History and Product*, p. 9.

1923 as a result of political consciousness and assertion of nationalism by the leaders of the National Congress of British West Africa. This council consists of a chamber in which is constitutionally provided an official majority in the ratio of two to one. Public elections are held every five years in Lagos and Calabar. The other provincial members are nominated at the will and wishes of the Governor of Nigeria. It will be seen therefore that Nigeria has a limited suffrage, with a preponderating official majority.

For administrative purposes, Nigeria is divided up into the following provincial units, with Lagos as the headquarters or the seat of government—Abeokuta, Ijebu, Ode, Oyo, Owerri, Warri, Benin, Calabar, Ogoja, Onitsha, Ondo, Ilorin, Kabba, Munshi, Muri, Yola, Bauchi, Bornu, Zaria, Nupe, Sokoto, Kano, and Nassarawa. Each province has its capital and is run very much like an American state government. A province has a Resident (Governor of State), who is responsible to the Governor-in-Chief of the Protectorate of Nigeria, for the proper administration of his province.

Due to political intrigue hereditary chieftaincies have been largely done away with. Recently the Eleko of Lagos, whose forefathers ceded Lagos to the British for \$3,000, was exiled, and in 1925 the Bale of Ibadan was deposed for resistant attitude against the British rule. In 1900, through the efforts of Roman Catholic missionaries, Obi Okosi, the present King of Onitsha, was made King contrary to the sacred traditions back of the social compact of Chima and his faithful survivors of the Benin Civil War. British diplomacy is also responsible for the present state of things; for, by granting special warrants to pseudo-chiefs, or by making them members of the most distinguished order of St. Michael and St. George or of the British Empire (C.M.G. or M.B.E.), some of these statesmen have lost their heads and have enabled Great Britain to confiscate native lands and revolutionize land tenure by making native lands "Crown" lands.²²

²² Harris, John, *Africa: Slave or Free?* p. 137.

CONCLUSION

Summarizing this treatise, one is apt to fall into the blunder of useless recapitulation. However, we have traced the political institutions of Nigeria, by dilating on the ethnico-geographical background. We have delved into the origin of the Hausas who claim descent from the Copts of Egypt, and to whom the eminent anthropologist, Heinrich Barth, refers as the Atarantians of Herodotus. We have also surveyed the Hausa Confederacy of seven states in the Atlantis zone, which lost its splendor and majesty by inciting the hatred of the neighboring clans owing to its imperial policy. We also reviewed the conquest of the Hausas by Sheikh Ottman Dan Fodio, "the terrible Turk," and of the establishment of the Turkish Colonial Empire of Sokoto, which fell at the advent of England and France following the Berlin Conference.

Elaborating on Yoruba native political institutions, we studied their metaphysical concepts of the state, how they revered the Oni of Ife as the pontificate of Rome is honored by the "civilized" world today; and also traced the evolution of Yoruba political institution to a monarchical form of republicanism, with the Ogboni Senate acting as a board of ephors and at the same time legislative in its character. We also followed up the system of Yoruba franchise and dwelt on their executive and judicial type of government, pointing out the various political offices with their functional duties.

Centering our discourse on the Ibos, we followed rather closely the history of an embryonic state with its ethnical background, scanning its struggles with Benin City and the political ingenuity of Chima, its first King, with his aristocratic tendencies, and his reconstruction policies which included, *inter alia*, the creation of a cabinet of elders and its adjunct—the military council. We noted also his policy of *imperium in imperio* and how it met its Waterloo with the British in 1879; his expansion policy; and finally his propa-

ganda of nationalism to protect Onitsha from foreign aggression.

We devoted the last part of the discussion to the Nigerian politics today. We surveyed the parts played by the natives and the English for the control of Nigeria; how by sheer force and shrewd diplomacy the whole area of Nigeria, 335,000 square miles, with its teeming population of nineteen millions became the subjects of five thousand odd European colonists. We further elaborated on the establishment of British autocracy in its bureaucratic policy and in the inception of the Legislative Council with a preponderating official majority. We finally discussed at length the provincial divisions of Nigeria and the abolition of hereditary chieftaincies.

The Africans in these parts, then, have lost their liberties, and have become subject to harder task-masters than they have had to endure elsewhere in Central or Northern Africa. Under the French Africans have had a better chance. All said and done, let me quote Harris,²³ who says: "There is one quite peculiar feature in the French government which is a marked advance upon anything which even Great Britain has attained, namely, *direct representation from the colonies and dependencies in the Senate and Chamber of Deputies*" of France.

BEN N. AZIKIWE

²³Harris, John, *Op. Cit.*, p. 21.

DOCUMENTS

THE CONVENTION BETWEEN SPAIN AND HOLLAND REGULATING THE RETURN OF DESERTERS AND FUGITIVE SLAVES IN THEIR AMERICAN COLONIES¹

The document given below is from the Spanish, the original of which is in the possession of the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. The original can be found in 46 G4, according to the method of cataloging in force in 1918. The document can hardly fail to be of interest to the student of the history of the Negro people. The date of the document takes us back to the days of fugitive slave laws and all that they stood for. The document is a good example of the humane character of the Spanish treatment of Negro slaves. The humane-ness in the present Convention lies of course in the fact that the runaway slave had recourse to the courts in order that his offence might be judged according to its merits. In comparison with the methods in force in so many, if not all of the nations of the time, the method of Spain is indeed far in advance of them. It should be noted that such humane-ness in the treatment of Negro slaves was not a new one but one which had characterized Spain's treatment of slaves from the time that Negro slavery was introduced into her dominions.

This Dutch-Spanish Convention contains some novel features, such as the provision with regard to religion. Article 6 provides that religion shall not be a cause or a pretext for the refusal to return the runaway slave. The thing to note is, of course, that the protection accorded the Roman Catholic slave is not accorded the Protestant slave. The student of the history of the Roman Catholic Church will, of course, not find in this an unusual case. Such procedure was not even novel but the procedure ordinarily followed in such cases.

¹ Translated by Professor N. Andrew N. Cleven of the University of Pittsburgh.

CONVENTION BETWEEN THE KING OUR LORD AND THE
STATES-GENERAL OF THE UNITED PROVINCES
FOR THE MUTUAL RETURN OF DESERTERS
AND FUGITIVES IN THEIR COLONIES
IN AMERICA

By order of the King.

The King of Spain and the States-General of the United Provinces, moved by the reiterated complaints of desertion in their colonies in America and desiring to remove the causes for desertion, and to make further complaints of desertion impossible, consider the moment opportune for the adoption of a plan for the mutual return of deserters and fugitives. The plan should prevent desertion and its vicious consequences in the future, and should also aid in establishing a closer bond of union and amity among their colonists in America which cannot fail to be satisfactory to His Majesty and to their High Mightinesses.

With this end in view and in order to determine the nature of the provisions of this highly desired convention, the high contracting parties have conferred full and plenary powers on, for His Catholic Majesty, Don Josef Moñino, the Count of Floridablanca, Knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece, Knight of the Order of the Grand Cross of Charles the Third, First Minister of State and Dispatch; and on, for the States-General of the United Provinces, Don Jacobo Godfroi, the Count of Rechteren, their Ambassador near to His Catholic Majesty. These Plenipotentiaries, after having held various conferences touching the mutual interests of their respective sovereigns, have agreed upon the following articles.

Article One.—It is hereby ordered that there shall be a mutual return of fugitives (white and negroid) between all the Spanish possessions in America and the Dutch colonies, particularly between those districts in which complaints of desertion have been most frequent, namely, between Puerto Rico and S. Eustaquio, Coro and Curazao, the Spanish Establishments on the Orinoco and Esequibo, Demerary, Berbices and Surinam.

Article Two.—The mutual return ordered in the article above shall be made in conformity with due process of law; and at the price stipulated in the articles following. Claims upon deserters and fugitives shall be made within the period of a year, counting from the date of desertion. After the expiration of one year claims cannot legally be made for the return of the fugitive. The slaves shall, after the expiration of one year from the time of desertion, belong to the ruler of the territory to which the slaves have escaped.

Article Three.—When fugitive slaves (Negro men and women) have been identified, the governor, who is the proper person to whom claims for the return of the fugitives shall be made, shall take the most effective means for the arrest of the fugitives. After capture the slave shall be returned to the owner who shall pay a fee of a sil-

ver *real* per day for the maintenance of each slave from the date of capture; and, in addition, a fee of twenty-five *pesos* for each slave in order to pay for the cost of the slave in prison, and to reward those who were instrumental in the slave's capture.

Article Four.—Fugitive slaves (Negro men and women) shall not henceforth be punished with death, mutilation, perpetual imprisonment, etc., for desertion unless guilty of crimes other than desertion which by their nature and degree deserve the penalty of death. In every case such crime shall be preferred and proved against the slave at the time that claims for his return are made.

Article Five.—Fugitive slaves (Negro men and women) who have committed crimes in the districts to which they have escaped shall be tried by the judge in that district. The judge shall not permit the return of the slave until justice has been satisfied. The fugitive slave who has committed a theft or other robbery shall not be returned to the owner until the amount of the loss has been paid. Fugitive slaves can contract no debt during the period of their desertion or while in prison for which the owner shall be held responsible.

Article Six.—Religion shall not be considered as a cause or pretext for refusal to return fugitive slaves. Dutch fugitive slaves who may have become converts to Roman Catholicism while fugitives in Spanish territory shall not be compelled to renounce this faith upon their return to Dutch territory but shall have full freedom of worship which has been established by Their High Mightinesses in their dominions.

Article Seven.—Dutch or Spanish military deserters who have escaped to Holland or Spain, or into Dutch and Spanish colonies shall upon demand of the proper authorities be returned to their respective governments. It shall be expressly understood that when deserters are identified no fee shall be paid by those who claim them except such as shall be necessary to pay for their imprisonment and for their clothing, arms, and such other equipment as shall be deemed absolutely necessary.

Article Eight.—Notice shall be given to the chiefs, governors, and commanders of colonies adjoining those concerned in this convention, charging them with the definite execution of the provisions of this convention and with giving the provisions of this convention all possible publicity in their respective governments or districts.

Article Nine.—The present convention shall be ratified and confirmed within the period of two months from the date of the signing of the same.

In witness whereof we the said Plenipotentiaries of His Catholic Majesty and Their High Mightinesses have signed this convention in their names and by virtue of the authority conferred upon us by them, and have affixed thereto the seals of our arms.

In Aranjuez June 23, 1791.

THE COUNT OF FLORIDABLANCA
Seal

THE COUNT OF RECHTEREN
Seal

Ratified by His Majesty in San Lorenzo el Real August 19, and by Their High Mightinesses in the Hague on the 22 of the same month and year.

LETTERS OF HIRAM WILSON TO MISS HANNAH GRAY¹

Miss Hannah Gray

St. Catharines, Canada West

MY DEAR SISTER IN CHRIST:

March 22nd 1853

I have not forgotten your very welcome visit to Canada last summer with Miss Carrier nor the thrilling letter I received from you in Nov. last. I am aware that you feel a deep interest in the welfare of the colored refugees in Canada & also in the prosperity of our mission & for this reason I am now going to give you a short chapter of my experience the last few months, & of the mighty work which the Lord hath wrought here, the past winter.

In the beginning of the winter I was much perplexed from lack of the means of paying up arrears, & clouds & darkness were upon my pecuniary prospects. The Committee of the Ann Miss. Asso. failed of sending the needed means of relief and I have had a continued series, of embarrassments ever since and have had a hard struggle to get through the winter; nevertheless the Lord who is rich in money has brought me through though I am now considerably involved. I will leave the "dark side of the picture & give you something more entertaining. We have had a glorious revival of Religion the past winter among the colored people of St. Catherines. It commenced about the beginning of the present year. Among the first fruit of the work was the hopeful conversion of Mary Elizabeth the girl you saw in my family but recently from New Orleans. (You are not ignorant of her history) Since she has been with us, she has been well instructed, has learned to read & write & what is best of all, has learned to sing the song of "*redeeming love*." I have no time to dwell on her case, she possesses a lovely disposition & appears well. We had a protracted meeting every evening in the week except Saturday evening for about six weeks which resulted in the hopeful conversion of about 40 persons, Christians generally quickened & refreshed & quite a number of backsliders were reclaimed. Zions train freighted with immortality is still moving but perhaps not quite so rapidly.

We find sister it is good to be earnestly engaged in leading souls to christ & thus contributing to the honor of the Great King which should be our constant—our only aim. Precious is the admonition with the annexed promise "Be not weary in well doing for in due time ye shall reap if ye faint not" & Go do good & communicate, forget not for with such sacrifice God is well pleased. We have our

¹ Hiram Wilson was a missionary worker among the Negro fugitives in Canada. Hannah Gray was one of the main supporters of his work. She lived in New Haven, from which she often sent contributions.

trials & conflicts which are all good in their place as divinely appointed discipline & then we have the assurance that all things work together for good to them that love God & who are the called according to his purpose. There is solid consolation in the thought that "the Lord reigns, & though clouds & darkness are around about him, righteous & judgment are the habitation of his throne." It is good to trust in the Lord and good to know that he loves to be trusted—good to trust in the Lord at all times, whether in the palmy days of prosperity, or amid the deep shades of adversity. It is extremely trying to toil on in the midst of embarrassment & perplexity in the prosecution of a holy enterprise with a consciousness that ones labors are not appreciated by those who ought to be first in extending the friendly hand of sympathy & succour. Such is my lot at present yet I feel assured that in due time the cloud will break & the bright sun come out to cheer our spirits.

As a glorious offset against the causes of depression we have the blessing of a peaceful conscience & the seal of Divine Approval. What could be better? In conclusion I have a suggestion to make which may not be deemed unreasonable. You will please think of it. In as much as our means of subsistence in prosecuting the work of human Redemption & enlightenment is, voluntary if you will have the kindness to show this letter to some of the friends of our cause in New Haven & raise & send a few dollars it will be gratefully reed. & duly acknowledged.

I have just reed. a *call* to serve as a city missionary in a large city where my pecuniary support would be more liberal than it is here but I can not see it my duty to leave my presint post.

My family unite in their kind christian regard & best wishes to you & Miss Carrier and would be glad to see you here again. Mary Elizabeth in particular wishes to be remembered to you.

I have frequent occasion to administer to the necessities of poor strangers from the prison house of slavery. May God speed the time when blood-guilty oppression shall cease & the poor panting fugitive no longer be under the necessity of coming to Canada for freedom.

My kind regard to all my good friends in N. Haven & vicinity.

Yours truly

In the Gospel & love of Christ
HIRAM WILSON

P.S. Our Sab. School is in a prosperous condition you remember we had two Sabbath Schoolz. They have been happily united in one & I have the superintendence. It is held in the morning at the Methodist Chapel. It numbers about 80 scholarz & has a good Library. Please let me hear from you as soon as you can conveniently write. I am to cross the lake to Toronto tomorrow to attend the Anniversary of the Upper Canada Anti Slavery Society.

H.W.

Whereas a portion of us the people of color in this city having been organized into a district branch of Christs Church viz the African M. E. Zion Church and having been favored by kind providence to get a house for divine worship—we hereby inform the friends to the cause of Christ that we your humble servants being generally poor have not been able to meet the demand of our Creditor consequently are in danger of suffering or sustaining loss for want of fifty Dollars which is demanded on the 26th inst. whereas we are striving to raise the amount as above named we hope that the Dear friends of Jesus with whom are intrusted the temporal Blessing of this life will aid us who are Little and that in the name of him who saith for as much as ye have done unto etc. ye have done it unto me any sum will thankfully be received and faithfully applied. The bearer of this being a friend to cause of Christ—being willing to assist in the struggle viz Hanah Gray is authorized to solicit aid for the above Named purpose

WM. H. BISHOP
Minister in Charge

| Subscribers Names | \$ | cts. |
|-------------------|----|------|
| A friend | | 50 |
| A friend | | 50 |
| | | |
| | | |
| | | |
| | | |
| | | |
| | | |
| | | |

New Haven 10 May 1853

We give the sum affixed to our names for Rev. Hiram Wilsons establishment in Canada for colored fugitives.

| | |
|----------------------|-----------|
| Amos Townsend Jun | \$2. |
| Mr. Townsend | 3 |
| Mr. N. R. Clark | 5 |
| Edw. Strong | 1 |
| S. W. Dutton | 1.00 |
| Mrs. S. H. Hemingway | 1 |
| C. A. Butterfield | 1.00 |
| Mrs. Susan Strowter | 1.00 |
| Dianah Carier | 1.00 |
| Miss Twining | 1.00 |
| N. B. Ives | 1.00 |
| A Friend | 1.00 |
| Do | 1.00 paid |

| | |
|-------------------|------------|
| Do | 1.00 |
| L. B. | 1.00 |
| Mrs. L. | 1.00 paide |
| Mrs. Wm. Johnson | 2.00 |
| Mrs. E. J. Bishop | 1.00 |
| Mrs. J. W. Dwight | 1.00 paid |
| A friend | 1.00 paid |
| Hannah Herrick | 1.00 paid |
| A friend | 1.00 paid |
| E. Wallock | 1.00 paid |
| Mr. Smith | 1.00 paid |
| E. Benjamin | 2.00 paid |
| D. L. Cooper | 2.00 paid |
| Cash | .72 |

St. Catherines Canada West
June 15th 1853

Miss Hannah Gray

DEAR SISTER:

Your very encouraging letter of the 7th instant with a Bank Draft for \$36.72 you have had the kindness to collect for my cause was duly received & would have been answered at an earlier date but I have been much occupied since it came & have found it inconvenient. I have seldom ever felt the need of help so much as at the present time hence the remittance from my good friends in New Haven is the more acceptable as a tribute of their interest in one who is laboring in a righteous cause but in peculiarly perplexed and trying circumstances.

About one month ago I felt in duty bound, to write to the Secretary of the Am. Miss. Association Mr. Whipple in New York, & inform him that I could labour no longer as missionary, to the Association & be restricted to so small a salary as I have had for two or more years past, as it was not more than four fifths as much as I required to support my family—so I am now on a voluntary footing, dependent, under God upon the labor of my own hands, and voluntary contributions from the benevolent who know me & have confidence in the mission.

I had rather be again upon this footing, trusting in the strong arm of the Lord, (which had long been my position in former years) than to be cramped down under an unreasonably small salary, & at the same time be subject to executive censure, for receiving assistance from personal friends, who were desirous of making me & my family comfortable.

I prefer this attitude even if I have to work with my own hands by *moon & star* light, towards my support. We are doing all we can for the comfort & elevation of the colored people in this glorious land especially for the numerous strangers who are constantly thronging our shores; at the same time I am serving the cause of philanthropy

among the sailors on the Welland Canal. Am kept as busy as a bee every day in the week. I may say every hour of every day & the Sabbath is with me emphatically a day of labour, *not* of rest as I have more exercise than any other day in the week.

Our cause is prospering—Sabbath school very interesting & we are all in good spirits. It would have done your heart good to have been here last Sabbath to have witnessed the communion in the African Epis. Meth. Chapel. It was quarterly meeting occasion. 108 persons came forward and partook of the sacrament. The season was solemn. Many of the communicants were not long from the land of oppression, & some of them not long in the light & liberty of the gospel. I reminded them all of their great obligations to God, to one another & to the cause of philanthropy & exhorted them to look to Christ as the fountain of all spiritual good & see to it that they had “the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.”

After communion service I had a glorious time on the deck of a schooner, having about 100 sailors and others around me to hear the gospel from my lips. I told them I was going to inform them how they might all get rich, & be exempt from sorrow; & while they were wondering what was coming, I announced my Text. “The Blessing of the Lord maketh rich & he addeth no sorrow with it.” Seldom have I ever had better attention.

I have just returned from Toronto to where the Congregational Union of the West Canada has been holding its anniversary meetings for several days. I would gladly write more but time will not allow. Please tender my sincere thanks to all who contributed towards the relief of the mission. May the Lord abundantly reward them for their liberality. My family unite in sending their kind regards to you & Miss Carrier.

I shall be happy to hear from you again if you can find it convenient to write.

Faithfully and truly yourz

HIRAM WILSON

Mission House St. Catherinez C. W.

June 15th 1853

The subscriber gratefully acknowledges the receipt of Thirty Six Dollarz, seventy two centz from friendz of the Refugeez in Canada, resident at New Haven, Conn, collected & forwarded by letter *per* Miss Hannah Gray.

My the Divine blessing rest upon all, who have thuz effectually remembered the sable strangers in this refuge land.

HIRAM WILSON

P. S. Please submit the above to Dea. Townsend & have it inserted in a New Haven Paper if thought best.

H. W.

St. Catherines Canada West

Jan. 14th 1859

Miss Hannah Gray

DEAR SISTER:

How true it is, that "it is not in man that walketh to direct his steps," and how consoling the thought that "the earth is the Lords and the fullness thereof," that "the gold and silver are his" and "the cattle upon a thousand hills". We cannot surely be poor when we have so rich a Father, from whose fullness all our wants are supplied and "*who doeth all things well.*" I have not forgotten my promise that I would write you on returning home especially as my mind was somewhat burdened when I last saw you in prospect of a fearful crisis seemingly near at hand which threatened to desolate my family. I cannot at present give you all the light upon the matter which I would like to do as I know not what is yet to take place but I am happy to inform you that thus far the Lord has led me on—thus far he has verified his sacred word of promise which says "trust in the Lord & do good. So shalt thou dwell in the land and verily thou shall be fed. Again Blessed is he that considereth the poor, the Lord will deliver him in time of trouble. The Lord will preserve him and keep him alive & he shall be blessed upon the earth & thou wilt not deliver him unto the will of his enemies. When I left New Haven my prospects to human appearance, were dark & dreary.

A Writ of Ejectment was hanging over my humble homestead in St. Catherines, which *looked formidable enough*, jeopardizing the shelter for our heads & at the same time the place of reception for the poor strangers from slavery. I knew I was in the power of selfish wicked men who, for the sake of filthy lucre, would not hesitate a moment to ruin me. I knew too that their aims was just to precipitate if possible a *forced sale* of my house & premises, at perhaps not more than half their value; buy in my estate & so leave me & my family without a shelter and the sable stranger without a resting place on entering the Land of Refuge. I passed to Guilford where during the great storm I was with a kind sympathizing friends—then to New London where I spent a night and most of a day;—thence to Providence, where I spent a night and a day—then to Boston, at which place, I found a week ago this morning, a most excellent friend & deliverer who is pledged to furnish me *all the means I shall need*, to rid my place of its present incumbrances on my securing him by mortgage, which I can easily do. A brief interview with this friend, who is among the most honorable & wealthy men of Boston, brought me into a position in which I felt as light as a cork a *Mountain pressure rolled off me!* I touched the telegraph with a comforting message to my family & by the mercy of the Lord or as Nehemiah says "by the good hand of my God upon me" I found myself at home in peace and health & comfort with my family Saturday evening last. I am now making my arrangements in the way of per-

fecting a great deliverance from the trappings & snares of wicked men *To God be all the praise*. Notwithstanding my prospects are fair still in getting out of difficulties maliciously forced upon me in my absence I shall be subject to heavy costs & having so many poor and needy ones from bondage coming to me & looking up to me imploringly for help I have to call out myself for help or suffer. If you can lift something in the course of the winter and send, it will be thankfully received, but that you may not call on those who have kindly aided me, I give you their names with my sincere thanks. Amos Townsend (May God bless him) Rev. M. Leeds, E. Benjamin, G. C. Hine, Dr. Day, Pres. Woolsey, Prof. Salisbury & his good mother Mrs. A. Salisbury & two sisters (names not known) May God Bless them all. I shall gratefully remember their kindness till my breath and pulsations cease. We have much to do & much encouragement for doing good. When warmer weather comes we would rejoice to see you here again on a visit. My wife & sister & family, love to you. My kind regards to all my New Haven friends.

Sincerely & truly yours,

In the gospel & love of Jesus

HIRAM WILSON

P. S. I have forgotten the name of your Street Please excuse my manner of directing the letter.

BOOK REVIEWS

White Capital and Coloured Labor. By Lord Olivier. New edition, rewritten and enlarged. (London: The Hogarth Press, 1929. Pp. 348. Price 12 shillings and six pence.)

The first edition of this book in smaller form made a favorable impression. In the first place, it was written by a distinguished gentleman of Britain, who dared to subject to scientific analysis one of the worst evils of that country's administration in Africa. The earlier work dealt with the difficulties in the relations between white and black, economic and racial. Since the appearance of the first edition, however, the development of the deliberate policy of extracting wealth from Africa has so changed the situation as to make the issue between Europeans and Africans much more visibly and distinctly one of "White Capital" *versus* "Coloured Labor" than a generation ago. The same line of thought appears in the new work except some modification of the author's discussion of race fusion, treating the manner in which the combination of inherited qualities by interbreeding appears to proceed.

The principal developments which justify a new edition of this work are (1) further attention to problems of agricultural industry in mixed communities in the West Indies; (2) further development in Africa, especially in the native cultivation of cocoa; (3) the development of mining and other industrial enterprise especially in the South African Union; (4) the revival in South Africa of dogmatic discrimination between the respective human rights between white and coloured peoples together with the determination of the white employees to keep down the native workers who have no political franchise; (5) experiments in the exploitation of new territory through capitalistic enterprise by the grant of charters to stock companies operating in Mashonaland, Matabeleland, and Northern Rhodesia; (6) the expedients of European employers for securing supplies of black labor as in annexed parts like Kenya undergoing white colonization; (7) the declaration of the Covenant of the League of Nations and the boldly professed adoption by British Governments of the doctrine of the "trusteeship" of white races for the civilization of colored and backward people in Africa and in other parts of the world; (8) and the fact that within the memory of persons now living "the whole colour of the influentially prevalent and actively

effective ideas about Imperial relations with our dependencies of mixed populations" has been changed.

The book, on the whole, is a frank and fearless discussion of problems of vital concern to all thinking people of our time. One may not always agree with the author in some of his observations and at times one may wonder why he did not present the case more emphatically. The author, however, is courageous throughout. He points out the dangers of unrestricted authority, racial distinctions, forced labor, and slavery. He gives his opinion as to the race relations in the United States, does not seem to be frightened by "social equality", and questions the unfounded theories as to the character of the natives. The white man will find it impossible to deal with the natives with force alone. They must no longer be treated as children and they cannot be expected to accept Christianity from their destroyers. In the long run the white man must reap what he sows.

Race Attitudes in Children. By Bruno Lasker, of *The Inquiry*. (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1929. Pp. XVI, 394. Price \$4.00.)

The purpose of the book is to disclose one of the roots of racial disharmony. Because of the many conflicting statements as to causes for racial attitudes prevailing in America the author has endeavored to inquire more systematically into the ways in which they originate in children. Another reason for inquiring into the attitudes of children is that tests have shown the difficulty of distinguishing clearly between reactions with which a child is born and those acquired in infancy and youth. "This concern rather than a purely scientific curiosity determined both the content and the method of the project" (XI). The aim, then, "did not permit of a strictly objective method of inquiry looking for verifiable evidence, such as carefully guarded tests in a psychological laboratory might produce." The information used was obtained by means of questionnaires, correspondence, observation, and the results of other such studies.

It is interesting how the author accounts for prejudice. He contends with modern scientists that much which people have assumed to be born with them in mental habits has been acquired. It is agreed that "the contact between children of different races produces its own influences upon race attitude; but the nature of these contacts is largely determined by a much larger and more inclusive influence:

the adult environment." Discussing the matter further, the author says (372): "In this matter of race relations, it is the gesture of the parent rather than the word of mouth, the smile of derision for members of another race in the adult group rather than the recital of the "golden rule" or a profession of cordiality, the adult's racial pride that comes to the surface in moments of exultation rather than lessons on human brotherhood, and above all the obvious facts of segregation and social division on racial lines that condition the child's attitudes. A refusal to admit members of another race to personal contact makes protestations of absence of race feeling ridiculous."

In his reference to history, the main reason why such a book is reviewed in these columns, the author presents the following as one of his important findings (372-373): "To the controversy over the public-school teaching of history our inquiry contributes one or two pertinent facts: It is not immaterial whether one people rather than another is made the object of appreciative study, whether the influences of one rather than another are pictured as favorable upon the progress of western civilization. The child absorbs from historical study attitudes toward living peoples and their representatives in his own country and in his own community. Practically all history teaching is propaganda; but there are significant differences between the methods as well as the contents of different textbooks. Excessive emphasis on one type of facts and a corresponding suppression of others—the most frequent practice—conditions the child to preconceptions and false valuations which it takes much to unlearn. The more slyly insinuated expression of contempt for some national and racial groups is apt to create antipathies which cannot always later in life be traced to their sources and so, with others, are carried along as seemingly innate.

"This is even more true of the prejudiced teaching to be found in textbooks on such presumably scientific subjects as biology, anthropology, or geography. There is much testimony to the effect that just because this teaching comes to the child not in the form of vivid narrative but in that of objective statements of fact in the vocabulary of science, and with pictorial illustrations not from 'art' but from photography, its influence on attitudes is even more powerful. The heroes of history may merge with those of legend and fiction; but the naked savage pictured, in contrast with a fully dressed white man, as representative of the Negro race will have produced a mental impression which returns as the word 'Negro' is mentioned."

Toussaint Louverture: A Dramatic History. By Leslie Pinckney Hill. (Boston: The Christopher Publishing House, 1929. Pp. 101. Price \$1.50.)

This is a "moving tale of a tragic island." Haiti is the Negro's Ireland, and Toussaint Louverture is her Robert Emmet. Immediately that this great name is pronounced—Toussaint Louverture—one thinks of Wendell Phillips' glowing eulogy and Wordsworth's noble sonnet. A hero who could evoke such tributes and who has been the subject of so many biographies and whose career of a dozen years, was filled with such dramatic and tragic vicissitudes deserved an ampler poetic interpretative treatment than any writer of genius had accorded him. In the authentic history of the man there were all the elements of a great poetic tragedy, after the manner of Shakespeare's, Goethe's, Racine's.

An English statesman is reported to have said that he learned the history of his country from Shakespeare's chronicle plays, the tragedies of her kings. If Aristotle's view be correct that poetry is more serious and philosophical than history, that statesman must be esteemed wise. He chose the best way of learning history. With the acquisition of knowledge by such reading goes a high quality of pleasure, the pleasure which noble language and appropriate imagery excite.

In a tragic poem such as this, therefore, the reader has the two-fold pleasure—sorrowful pleasure, indeed, but tragedy affords that kind—which results from seeing the culmination of a historic period and the heroic although defeated struggle of a great-souled man, set forth in a form of art worthy of great events and great actors.

Mr. Hill follows history closely. His theme is the twelve years' struggle of the black Haitians, under the matchless leadership of the erstwhile slave, Toussaint, to achieve first their freedom from slavery and then their national independence. They had felt the influence of the ideas which produced the French Revolution. Against the three most powerful nations of Western Europe—Spain, England, France—they were in turn successful in arms. Only by treachery, after Napoleon had sent an army of thirty thousand of the best troops of France against them, were they defeated. Nevertheless, Mr. Hill finds defeat for the great Napoleon in this base victory:

"The conflict between Toussaint and Napoleon not only hastened the destruction of the emperor; it was a determining factor in making possible for Thomas Jefferson and Robert Livingstone the Louisi-

ana Purchase. America, therefore, owes to this black chieftain the ending of all Napoleon's dreams of empire in the Western hemisphere."

Here then is that element without which no tragic tale is complete, the element of *Retribution*. For dramatic effects the country and the times afforded abundance of materials. Contrasts in the persons of the play are particularly striking: generals and commissioners of the three mentioned European nations; ex-slaves, meeting them in council or in battle; and, among the blacks themselves, ignorant voodoo worshipers and the finished products of French schools. Changes in style, now prose, now stately-moving blank verse, accord with the characters, and occasions, for Mr. Hill's lyrical gifts are not wanting.

But the interest in the drama never gets far from the great protagonist—the man called Louverture (the *opener*)—

"Because he made new openings for our hopes—

I call him Toussaint Louverture because
Wherever walls have stood he broke them down,
Wherever bars were found he made a way."

The names such as his are not many in all the annals of nations. The New World in its four centuries of history has only three: Bolivar, Miranda, and Washington. His indeed is "one of the few, the immortal names that were not born to die." And here he lives again, and moves and speaks before the reader's mental vision.

ROBERT T. KERLIN

The Survey of Negro Colleges and Universities. U. S. Bureau of Education Bulletin (1928) No. 7, under the direction of Arthur J. Klein. (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1929. Pp. V, 964. Price \$1.50.)

This study of Negro Colleges and Universities was undertaken by a group of specialists in higher education under the auspices of the United States Bureau of Education. In view of the survey of over a decade ago, this report reveals remarkable progress in the higher education of the Negro. The objectives of the investigators reflect a dispassionate and sympathetic endeavor to find the facts and interpret them scientifically. In the previous study certain definite conclusions were reached in advance, and the findings sought generally to substantiate what had been assumed. Although considerable harm

was done by the former study, all students of this field of education will concede that attention was directed to neglected aspects of a problem which has been attacked constructively during the past few years. The present research, therefore, will serve as a guide for all people who are interested in helping the cause of Negro education.

There are four systems of control in the operation and maintenance of the seventy-nine institutions which were studied. The first group of institutions comprises the independent and larger institutions such as Howard, Fisk, Hampton, and Tuskegee. These schools, for the most part, are directed by boards of trustees and have considerable endowments in addition to definite and substantial sources of income. Another group of colleges is owned and controlled by Northern church boards. These schools, too, have endowment funds, but they are generally pooled and handled centrally for an entire group of institutions operated by the particular denomination. Naturally this system of support is less effective than that of the independent group mentioned above. Another group is owned and controlled by Negro church denominations. These schools are, for the most part, directed by unwieldy boards of trustees and the sources of definite support are frequently meager. This group, however, represents a milestone in the struggle of Negroes in America to create and support institutions for their own uplift. The staff speaks in very commendable terms of the fine spirit of sacrifice which has actuated the churchmen and the achievements which these schools have made. Self help in this great venture has, no doubt, had far reaching effect upon the great boards and foundations which are now giving generously, although religious schools are not generally included in the benefactions. The last group comprises the land-grant colleges which have been launched in the southern and border states. These institutions have made great improvement during the past fifteen years. Their sources of support have been principally the local state appropriations and small grants from the Federal Government and a few of the foundations like the Slater and Jeanes Funds.

Three periods of development are noted in the growth of the Negro college. A pioneer period extends from 1854 to 1870 when the missionary came into the South fired with the idealism of abolition and service represented by Howard, Fisk, Cravath, Ware, Hubbard, and others whose names will have to be given a prominent place in the history of American missionary work among the freedmen. A second period embraces the span from 1870 to 1890 when the reorganization of this work consisted in the program which has given the

Negroes their first quota of trained leadership in various fields. Emphasis, in the first two periods, was placed upon elementary and secondary work, although some effort centered upon studies which would today be classified on the junior college level, and some professional work was launched. With the close of this period, a wave of vocational training swept through the field with the appearance of Booker T. Washington. For three decades higher training for the Negro was on trial and many despaired of obtaining funds for its continuation. The last period extends from 1890 to the present. A revolution has come in the introduction of advanced academic studies for the training of teachers in the great centers at Hampton and Tuskegee.

The programs in the majority of the institutions still include secondary work, which has been necessary in the absence, until quite recently, of this course in the local communities. There is a good deal of semi-professional study in the field of religion. The offerings in this field, with the exception of two centers, are inadequate for the pressing demands. The same may be said of teacher training upon which great emphasis is being placed in the majority of the institutions. Academic studies still include some of the classics which were introduced in the early days where English deserved first place. The classics are rapidly passing in the better institutions, and curricula in modern languages, natural and social sciences, English, and education, are gaining headway. The committee noted splendid organization, within the limits of equipment, excessive teaching hours, and poorly paid personnel. The specific recommendations which were made will be of great service in the administration and reorganization of institutions in the near future. As one examines the report he will find a need of greater stress upon vocational and technical programs in the colleges.

In the majority of the colleges, the survey shows, there is an accumulation of laboratory equipment, but this is inadequate to meet the demands for thorough work in the natural sciences. Several science buildings have been erected and considerable apparatus has been installed in schools where there was none fifteen years ago. The libraries are still stocked, with a very few exceptions, with collections which have been contributed as bequests of deceased ministers in the North. Naturally the books are predominantly religious and out-of-date for academic purposes. Much of the emphasis upon buildings might be given to working supplies of books and materials. From the tabulations it seems that many boards and administrators

are of the opinion that buildings and paved walks constitute a college, instead of personnel which is capable of inspiring the youth of this generation.

The survey shows a gradual displacement of white personnel by colored, which has begun and will continue in view of the fact that, with very few exceptions, it is no longer possible to secure the services of capable white instructors in the Negro colleges. This situation has been viewed with alarm by many who saw in Negro young men and women, in some instances, excellent scholarship but an utter lack of culture in contrast to the pioneer Yankees who created the wholesome atmosphere of Atlanta and Fisk. Furthermore many of the white leaders have been incompetent. The report shows the dawn of a new day in the records of Hope and Gandy and many younger men who are appearing on the horizon with the rich possibilities of culture and the rarest gifts of scholarship, character, and administrative ability. The evidences of growth revealed in this line are distinctly encouraging and prophetic of the day in the higher education of the race, which some have hesitated to predict during the past decade. There is still an urgent demand for academic freedom and restraint upon executive powers which are flagrantly inconsistent with practices in progressive American colleges.

Constructive criticisms and recommendations are offered in the case of each institution which was studied. To these suggestions administrators and boards of control may turn for guidance. The suggestions are very helpful. For example, such glaring abuses as the excessive number of honorary degrees, in contrast to those conferred in course are revealed. The ratio and percentages presented by the commission on this point will very probably produce beneficent results in the near future. From the recommendations one would infer that graduate studies to the extent of the masters' degree may be undertaken in two of the strongest institutions. The writer is of the opinion that the real task of the Negro college during the next fifteen or twenty-five years will be to make the institution, which is viewed with suspicion by standardizing agencies, measure up to the standard set by the American Association of Colleges. This objective is of fundamental importance in view of the handicaps which Negro graduates face when they undertake further study in, liberal arts or professional schools. The survey has pointed the way for constructive leadership and productive investment in one of America's most worthy and neglected fields of education.

WILLIAM M. BREWER

NOTES

Mr. Thomas L. Dabney, of the Buckingham Country Training School at Dillwyn, Virginia, has been making within a limited area a survey of the teaching of Negro History in the public schools of that state. He sent questionnaires to nineteen schools, three of which are in cities. He received reports on 497 students, two-thirds of whom are in the eighth and ninth grades. The facts revealed in these reports were set forth in the following entitled

A SUMMARY OF A REPORT ON THE TEACHING OF NEGRO HISTORY

1. Number of students who have a knowledge of the life and work of each of the following:

| | | | |
|-------------------------|-----|-----------------------|-----|
| Frederick Douglass.... | 243 | Richard Allen..... | 57 |
| Phyllis Wheatley..... | 240 | Paul Lawrence Dunbar. | 252 |
| Crispus Attucks..... | 182 | Florence Mills..... | 78 |
| Robert B. Elliott..... | 210 | Roland Hayes..... | 269 |
| Nat Turner..... | 216 | Carter G. Woodson.... | 193 |
| Gabriel Prosser..... | 120 | W. E. B. DuBois..... | 209 |
| Denmark Vessey..... | 150 | Ethel Waters..... | 160 |
| Soujourner Truth..... | 113 | Matthew Henson..... | 124 |
| Harriet Tubman..... | 158 | George W. Carver..... | 138 |
| Toussaint Louverture .. | 107 | Charles Gilpin..... | 150 |
| J. J. Dessalines..... | 94 | Maggie L. Walker..... | 191 |
| Booker T. Washington.. | 262 | | |

2. Number of students who know the following:

| | |
|---|-----|
| The founder of Tuskegee..... | 378 |
| Who performed the first successful operation on the human heart | 100 |
| The profession of Bert Williams..... | 215 |
| The author of <i>Uncle Tom's Cabin</i> | 293 |
| Winners in 1924 Olympic games..... | 45 |
| The Negro winner of a Rhodes' Scholarship..... | 86 |
| The President of Liberia..... | 115 |
| The purpose of N.A.A.C.P..... | 117 |
| The purpose of Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters..... | 66 |

3. Number of pupils reading Negro periodicals regularly..... 80

4. Number reading the following newspapers:

| | | | |
|--|----|--------------------------------|----|
| <i>The Norfolk Journal and Guide</i> | 36 | <i>The St. Luke Herald</i> ... | 30 |
| <i>The Chicago Defender</i> .. | 13 | <i>The Crisis</i> | 23 |
| <i>The Pittsburg Courier</i> .. | 1 | <i>Opportunity</i> | 0 |
| <i>The Afro-American</i> | 21 | <i>Southern Workman</i> | 2 |

5. Number of pupils who have read one or more books on the Negro 37
6. Number of pupils who have read the following:
- | | | | |
|---------------------------------|----|--------------------------------|----|
| <i>The Story of my life and</i> | | <i>The Negro in our His-</i> | |
| <i>work</i> | 13 | <i>tory</i> | 14 |
| <i>Up from Slavery</i> | 15 | <i>Dunbar's Poems</i> | 15 |
| <i>The Soul of Black Folk</i> | 0 | <i>Uncle Tom's Cabin</i> | 16 |
7. Number of pupils with pictures of the following persons in their homes:
- | | | | |
|------------------------|----|------------------------|---|
| Booker T. Washington.. | 65 | Carter G. Woodson..... | 8 |
| Frederick Douglass.... | 26 | Roland Hayes..... | 0 |
| W. E. B. DuBois..... | 2 | Maggie L. Walker..... | 0 |
| Paul Lawrence Dunbar. | 11 | | |

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THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO HISTORY

VOL. XIV—OCTOBER, 1929—No. 4

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR

The Association is still able to report progress from year to year. Every twelvemonth brings us nearer to the completion of some definite task and at the same time nearer to the realization of the purpose to embody in fundamental form the civilization of the Negro. The undertaking is a stupendous effort, especially when one considers the lack of interest in the scientific treatment of the records of the past; but a larger number of persons are alive to the situation today than last year, and a much larger number now than in 1915 when the work started with many handicaps. The cumulative effect of the increasing value of *The Journal of Negro History* and of reports and monographs produced by the Association has tended to create more interest and thus deepen and widen the constituency of the Association.

These results have been achieved not only through the self-denial of an underpaid staff of workers, but also by contributions from hundreds of persons who, although of limited income, have also made the sacrifice of giving a part of their hard earned means to aid this long-neglected work. The contributions of philanthropists and of boards given in recognition of what others have done have enabled the Association to proceed with a more definite program and to accomplish special results. A detailed statement as to receipts and disbursements under three different accounts, each in-

volving special interests which the Association has promoted, presents in simple form the extent to which the work has been materially supported. It is of special significance to note the increase of the general Expense Fund replenished altogether by small contributions ranging between five and a hundred dollars. It is of further significance to observe that, on the whole, the income of the Association, although still inadequate, has increased a little from year to year.

COMPLETE FINANCIAL STATEMENT, JULY 1, 1928-JUNE 30, 1929

RESEARCH

| <i>Receipts</i> | | <i>Disbursements</i> | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------|
| Third Payment ... | \$ 7,600.00 | Directing Research \$ | 1,100.00 |
| Refund | 200.00 | Research | 4,552.30 |
| Interest | 64.86 | Stenographic Service | 750.02 |
| | | Proof-reading, copying, etc. | 226.75 |
| | | Traveling Expenses | 210.15 |
| | | Loan | 1,000.00 |
| | <u>\$ 7,864.86</u> | | <u>\$ 7,839.22</u> |
| Balance on hand, July 1, 1928... | 11.83 | Balance on hand, June 30, 1929.. | 36.97 |
| | <u>\$ 7,876.19</u> | | <u>\$ 7,876.19</u> |

PUBLICATIONS

| <i>Receipts</i> | | <i>Disbursements</i> | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------|---|--------------------|
| Third Payment ... | \$ 5,000.00 | Extracts from the Records of African Companies.. | \$ 1,159.90 |
| Receipts from Publications ... | 499.15 | The Negro as a Business Man... | 683.98 |
| | | Accounting, Advertising, circularizing, Postage, etc. | 8,500.03 |
| | <u>\$ 5,499.15</u> | | <u>\$ 5,843.91</u> |
| Balance on hand, July 1, 1928 ... | 180.38 | Balance on hand, June 1, 1929... | 335.62 |
| | <u>\$ 5,679.53</u> | | <u>\$ 5,679.53</u> |

GENERAL EXPENSES

| <i>Receipts</i> | | <i>Disbursements</i> | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------|
| Subscriptions ... | \$ 1,598.77 | Printing the JOURNAL | \$ 4,204.85 |
| Memberships | 1,492.00 | Stenographic Service | 180.00 |
| Contributions | 4,689.05 | Rent | 1,050.00 |
| Advertisements ... | 345.50 | Salaries | 2,500.00 |
| Sundry Income ... | 4,826.11 | Sundry Expenditures | 5,020.97 |
| | <u>\$12,951.43</u> | | <u>\$12,955.82</u> |
| Balance on hand, July 1, 1928 ... | 153.81 | Balance on hand, June 30, 1929.. | 149.42 |
| | <u>\$13,105.24</u> | | <u>\$13,105.24</u> |
| GRAND TOTAL | \$26,660.96 | GRAND TOTAL | \$26,660.96 |

RESEARCH

The efforts of the Research Department during the last year have been restricted largely to checking up on the field work of certain surveys which have been conducted dur-

ing the previous two years and to preparing the data for publication. In these fields three monographs have been made ready for the printer, and one or more would have been printed already had the balance of the Publication Fund been sufficient to warrant the outlay.

The study of the *Rural Negro*, the status of the peasantry of African blood, a project engaging the attention of the Director, has been combined with his study of the Negro Rural Schools and prepared for printing. The study embraces such matters as health, occupations, tenancy, peonage, rural industry, recreation, education, and religion. It is illuminated with charts and maps, and it is illustrated with scenes graphically depicting the conditions under which Negroes in the rural districts live.

The study of the *Negro Wage Earner* or the *Development of the Negro in the Occupations* by Mr. Lorenzo J. Greene, has also been completed. Beginning with the Negroes just before emancipation, the author shows what they were doing at that time. He next presents their status of employment as it was affected by the upheaval of the Civil War. Using this as a basis, he has compared at various periods up to the present time the data of these various epochs to discover the trends upward or downward in each occupation. In every case of change he has tried to account for it by drawing upon the contemporary source materials.

The study of the *Relations of Negroes and Indians*, interrupted last year by the illness of Mr. James Hugo Johnston, has not advanced much because of his many other duties as a teacher. He has found time, however, to extract additional materials from the archives in the State Capitol of Virginia, and to verify the copies of transcribed documents collected some time ago. Three months additional labor will enable him to finish the task of collecting these materials. Along with the facts as to the relation of these two races are other valuable data throwing light on various neglected aspects of our national history.

Other treatises in this field may be developed from the

numerous materials collected by the investigators of the Association, who, for two years made a study of the social and economic conditions of the Negroes in the United States since the Civil War. Such productions will probably be *The Influence of Fraternal Organizations in the Development of the Negro* and *The Negro Professional Man socially and economically considered*. Exactly when these efforts will be completed, however, will depend upon the funds which may be made available for this service. For these unfinished tasks the Association is now seeking aid.

Several other matters also claim the attention of the Research Department. The Association is therefore, seeking funds to finance the study of the "near great" Negroes—the maid, the nurse, the artisan, the mechanic, and the farmer. The Association is also asking for assistance to make a study of *Free Negro Heads of Families in the United States in 1860*, which will facilitate the comparison of the status of these people at two different periods, a similar study of the situation in 1830 having already been made by the Association. The heads of departments of history of nine accredited universities have urged that the study be undertaken.

The help of the Research Department, too, has been requested by various persons and institutions. Almost anyone making a study of the Negro seeks the advice and co-operation of this staff. Many persons of this country and from abroad come to Washington for conferences with the Director and prosecute their studies under his guidance. Professors of accredited universities having students projecting studies in this field refer them to this office for the working out of their plans, which when approved by the Director, are accepted by the heads of these departments.

THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO HISTORY

No material change has been made in the status of *The Journal of Negro History*. There has been the usual small increase in the number of subscribing members, but nothing exceptional has marked this phase of the work. Being a

scientific magazine dealing only with history as it has been influenced by the Negro, it is not expected that this publication will have a large number of subscribers. Every opportunity to extend its circulation, however, is taken advantage of by the staff. Some increase in the subscribing membership must be attributed to the work of the branches of the Association which for this purpose serve as the local representative of the national office. It has been of some help too that there have come in as life members Miss Edna L. Wade of St. Louis, Mrs. Leona M. Evans representing the Book Lovers Club of the same city, Mrs. Myrtle Foster Cook of Kansas City, and Dr. S. L. Carson of Washington, D.C.

NEGRO HISTORY WEEK

Negro History Week the fourth year surpassed the expectations of the staff. The results as a whole were thoroughly gratifying. Reports from the celebration showed a large number of participants and more significant results. Whereas in the beginning certain districts paid little attention to the effort they now make some preparation to impress upon the Negro youth the thought of their forbears and their influence on the civilization of the world. In case of private schools the problem of interesting the administrators has been easily solved. In the public schools it was at first a little difficult; but, after observing from year to year the beneficent effects of the celebration, boards of education and superintendents of schools have become more liberal. In fact, the main feature of the celebration of the last year or two has been becoming more and more the fine showing made by the teachers and pupils of the public schools. In this way school authorities have been made to see the necessity for purchasing pictures and books of Negroes for the schools.

EDUCATIONAL WORK

The Educational Work of the Association has not been promoted as easily this year as during the year before. At that time the Association had in the field for most of the time

as many as four investigators who availed themselves of the opportunity to inform the public about the work of the Association and to inculcate an appreciation of what the race has thought and felt and attempted and accomplished. Lectures which they delivered did not cost anything inasmuch as they were delighted thus to make such contacts with the people from whom they were collecting valuable data. This year, during which these investigators have been devoting their time largely to other matters, such a service could not be gratuitously rendered. The interest aroused, however, was sufficient to keep the public desirous of such service and willing to share the expense of it. Members of the staff, therefore, have lectured to various institutions and literary circles at various points and have thus stimulated the work in neglected parts. The successful celebrations of Negro History Week have been decidedly educational in keeping with the plans and purposes of the Association.

The extension of the use of textbooks on the Negro has been a definite achievement. Private schools have increased the number of books thus used. In high schools and colleges they are using books by Negroes to teach the essay, poetry, religious development and general achievements of the Negro race. Boards of education have actually adopted such books as texts, and in some cases have purchased them for the pupils at their own expense. The signs of the times, indicate that in the next generation almost all Negro students in the country will cease to have to study literature in which their ancestors are held up to ridicule and will be permitted to study histories which present world achievement as an accumulation of contributions made by peoples of all times and all places.

HOME STUDY DEPARTMENT

The Home Study Department has done remarkably well for the second year. The period of innovation having passed, there has developed more interest in what it has to offer. Negro schools and colleges and a few white institutions are now offering courses on the Negro. Unfortunately, however,

some of these courses have been uninteresting and unprofitable. The trouble has been that the instructors in charge do not know what they are trying to teach. When these teachers were studying history in preparing for their life's work they were taught largely propaganda, selected truths emphasized to divert attention from other truths which today are regarded as just as important as those which were held up before them. When called upon to undertake this task of teaching Negro history such professors usually read a few books, and after consulting a number of persons as to how to proceed, they launch into the work. Such a course, however, requires more thorough preparation than this. And this neglected part of history cannot be tacked on to the other which they may retain. The whole world achievement must be reviewed from a broadminded, humanitarian point of view, rather than according to national bias, race hate, and religious prejudice. This is what the Home Study Department helps the student to do.

Instruction with respect to the life and history of the Negro requires probably more preparation than any other phase of social science for the simple reason that no other problems have been so grossly misrepresented and so generally misunderstood. To undertake to give instruction in this field in which one is not prepared, then, would be a most expensive error for which future generations must pay in suffering from other misunderstandings like the many which handicap us today. It requires centuries for truth to overcome error.

Every effort is made to solve the problems of each individual. Students' needs naturally differ. Most of our students take these courses for self-improvement; but as many as six are thus preparing themselves to impart such information to the fellow-members of their literary clubs, and three others to give courses in colleges. They study African anthropology, art, economics, history, and sociology. Other courses will be offered to supply the needs of advanced students.

BRANCHES OF THE ASSOCIATION

No material change has been made in the number of the branches of the Association during the year. It is still the policy of the administration not to organize branches wherever requested. Only in those places where the interest is sufficient for sustained effort will a branch grow and prosper. In one or two cases unfortunately there was much enthusiasm in the beginning, but it has decidedly abated in undertaking the important work which the Association is promoting. In the large urban centers, however, where there are a goodly number of serious-minded persons thoroughly interested in the Negro success has crowned the effort. In a few smaller communities where the interest is unusual equally as good results have been obtained. Numerous books on the Negro have been read, historical materials have been collected, juvenile groups have been organized for study, informing lectures have been delivered to the public, and local school authorities have been interested in the achievements of the Negro.

THE HISTORICAL COLLECTION

The Historical Collection of the Association has grown with the years. The Association has been able to purchase a few rare books from time to time, and persons interested in the work of the Association have given it valuable volumes. During the past year, however, there has not been as large an increase in the number of accessions as in the year before when many such volumes were secured by the four investigators in their field work among people in possession of such books. The effort to collect such works, moreover, has been made a little more difficult by the very interest in the task which the Association has aroused. Private collectors in this field have multiplied, and school libraries also have undertaken to gather such treasures.

DISCOVERING AND COLLECTING MANUSCRIPTS

With the co-operation of the American Historical Association and the Social Science Research Council the Associa-

tion is discovering and collecting manuscript materials in the hands of Negroes. The staff is collecting such materials as old letters, diaries, family records, wills, deeds, receipts, bills of sale, manumission papers and the like. The Library of Congress, which is also assisting in this matter, has reserved special space where these manuscripts may be mounted, catalogued, and kept intact as a collection to be consulted by investigators of all parts and of all times. In this place these valuable historical materials will be preserved forever to tell the indisputable story of the Negro in the centuries to come. More than twelve hundred of such manuscripts have already been collected and deposited with the manuscript Division of the Library of Congress.

SERVICE TO SCHOOLS AND LIBRARIES

Most of the large schools and public libraries of both races formerly purchasing occasionally a book on the Negro, are now building up special collections to exhaust the various questions arising in the rapidly increasing study of Negro life and history. The Association through its agent, the Associated Publishers, is supplying large numbers of these books. It has conducted an educational campaign to draw attention especially to valuable books on the Negro, which because of being out of print will not be available at all if not obtained in the near future. Some of these institutions, of course, are merely interested in those books which favorably impress the public as informing on certain conditions now obtaining. Others, however, are taking the situation more seriously and are purchasing a larger number of such works. In many cases the libraries are procuring all available books on the Negro in new or secondhand form whether published in this country or abroad. For example, these institutions sometimes call for every thing published on the slave trade, abolition, colonization, or the like. This firm, therefore, advertises for such works in this country and abroad and secures and holds them to supply the demands of those institutions which have awakened to the importance of securing them at their earliest convenience. The works

most emphasized are those dealing with the civilizations developed by the Negroes in Africa. The anthropology and ethnology of that continent are becoming most interesting phases of the study of the Negro in scholarly circles of all parts of this country as well as in Europe.

In an equally effective way the Association has served the public in the distribution of pictures of Negroes. Schools and occasionally libraries and other agencies call for them for decoration. Fortunately the Association directed its attention to this task a few years ago and collected a large number of rare pictures of Negroes well known in print but unknown to the artist. It will require a large outlay to reproduce these pictures and make them available to the public, but through the Associated Publishers 160 of them have been engraved and printed. The pictures of a few have been reproduced by photographic process which makes them a little expensive, but most of them have been brought out in small sizes in an inexpensive style to place them within the reach of all. The staff is still active in the collection of other materials of this sort, and it is believed that in the near future the number will be sufficient to publish therefrom a pictorial history of the Negro in Africa and America.

ANTI-SLAVERY SENTIMENT IN AMERICAN LITERATURE PRIOR TO 1865

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study has been to discover the extent to which anti-slavery sentiment, found expression in American literature prior to 1865, to trace the growth of this sentiment, to ascertain its nature, and to indicate the extent to which it was influenced by the spirit of the time in which it appeared.

The chief sources of information have been novels, poems, plays, short narratives, essays, sketches, magazine and newspaper articles having literary value, and a selected number of orations, sermons, letters, diaries, journals, biographies, and books of travel.

The long period during which opposition to slavery was expressed in the literature of America has been divided into five shorter periods, each one indicating a definite stage in the development of the anti-slavery movement, which had a continuous growth up to the end of the Civil War. The first period ended in January, 1808, when the Slave-Trade Act, abolishing the African slave-trade, became effective; the second, in 1831, when William Lloyd Garrison published the first number of the *Liberator* and became the leader of the anti-slavery movement; the third, in 1850, the year of the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act, which was responsible for the conversion of thousands of persons to the cause of abolition; the fourth, in 1861, when the Civil War began; and the fifth, in 1865, when it ended.

A study of the literature of these periods has revealed the fact that opposition to slavery was based upon a variety of grounds. During the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth centuries, when the literature of America was essentially didactic and religious, the basis of opposition was chiefly moral and religious, though at this time such authors as Samuel Sewall, William Byrd, John Woolman, and Benjamin Franklin were advocating the abolition of

slavery upon social and economic grounds as well. During the latter part of the eighteenth century, when the doctrine of the natural and inalienable rights of man was being proclaimed so widely, anti-slavery arguments frequently showed the influence of the political philosophy of the time. It was also during this time that opposition to slavery on sentimental grounds became considerable. Even though there were manifestations of the humanitarian spirit in the earliest anti-slavery literary productions, there was no considerable opposition to slavery on sentimental grounds until between 1770 and 1800, when the sentimentalism of European writers had begun to influence American authors.

Throughout the remaining four periods of the abolition movement, as revealed in American literature, the anti-slavery arguments based upon moral, religious, and sentimental grounds were the most numerous and the most effectively presented, though convincing appeals for the abolition of slavery as a social, economic, and political necessity found frequent expression. The social and economic arguments, for example, were very effectively used in many literary productions during the third and fourth periods, which extended from 1831 to 1861. These various grounds of objection to slavery—moral, religious, sentimental, social, economic, and political—have determined the method here employed for the study of anti-slavery sentiment.

CHAPTER I

THE ANTI-SLAVERY MOVEMENT PRIOR TO THE ABOLITION OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE (1641-1808)

I. MORAL AND RELIGIOUS ARGUMENTS

A. The Puritans and the Quakers

Prior to January 1, 1808, when the Slave-Trade Act prohibiting the importation of slaves into the United States became effective, opposition to slavery as recorded in the literature of America was based most often upon moral and religious grounds. It appeared first in the writings of the Puritans and the Quakers.

The majority of the Puritans who showed interest in the welfare of the slave were concerned primarily with his moral and religious instruction. Consequently, seeing in slavery a hindrance to this instruction, they opposed slavery. Few of them, however, appear to have foreseen any very serious consequences that might result from the continuance of such a system, and none of them effected any permanent plan for abolishing it.¹ John Eliot, one of the authors of the *Bay*

¹ Between 1641 and 1652 statutes were enacted by the Puritans to limit Negro slavery in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, but they were not long enforced. See A. B. Hart, *Slavery and Abolition*, pp. 50-51. The Massachusetts "Body of Liberties" (1641), compiled chiefly by Nathaniel Ward, contained a provision to the effect that there should "never be any bond slaverie, villinage or captivtie amongst us unles it be lawfull captives taken in just warres, and such strangers as willingly selle themselves or are sold to us." See *Old South Leaflets*, VII, 273. An attempt was made to enforce this regulation, for in 1646 the General Court ordered that certain Negroes unlawfully brought from Africa be returned at the charge of the country, and that a letter be sent with them expressing the indignation of the Court. See *Records of the Massachusetts Bay Colony*, II, 168. In 1652 a statute was enacted in Rhode Island limiting the period during which Negroes might be held in slavery. The commissioners of Providence and Warwick ordered that no man, black or white, should be forced "to serve any man or his assignes longer than ten yeares, or untill they come to bee twentie, from the time of their cominge within the liberties of this Collonie. . . . And that man that will not let them goe free, or shall sell them away elsewhere, to that end that they may bee enslaved to others for a long time, hee or they shall forfeit to the Collonie forty pounds." See *Records of the Colony of Rhode Island*, I, 243. By the beginning of the eighteenth century,

Psalm Book, lamented the fact that the Negroes were used as if they were horses or oxen, and considered it a prodigy "that any wearing the name of Christians, should so much have the heart of Devils in them, as to prevent and hinder the Instructions of the poor Blackamoors, and confine the Souls of their miserable Slaves to a destroying ignorance, merely for fear of thereby loosing the benefit of their Vassalage."² He offered to meet the slaves once a week for instruction, but he did not live to make much progress in the undertaking.² Cotton Mather's views on slavery were practically the same as Eliot's. In 1706 he wrote an essay entitled "The Negro Christianized," a copy of which was to be placed in every family of New England owning a Negro; and many copies were to be sent to the West Indies.³ Four years later, in an essay entitled "On Doing Good in our Domestic Relations," he expressed the belief that God had brought the Negroes to America for a good purpose:

"What if they should be the elect of God, fetched from Africa and the Indies that, by means of their situation, they may be brought home to the Shepherd of Souls?"⁴

He said that the Americans could not pretend to Christianity until they did more to Christianize their slaves; and he hoped that an act might be obtained from the British Parliament for the Christianizing of the slaves in the plantations. Yet, in the meantime, the slave-trade, said he, was a spectacle that shocked humanity:

"The harmless natives basely they trepan,
And barter baubles for the souls of men;
The wretches they to Christian climes bring o'er,
To serve worse heathens than they did before."⁵

A better example from the Puritans of the moral and religious argument and the first really significant one in the

however, this law was no longer enforced.—DuBois, *The Suppression of the African Slave-Trade*, p. 34.

² Mather, *The Life and Death of the Renown'd Mr. John Eliot*, p. 125.

³ *Diary of Cotton Mather*, in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 7th Ser., VII, Part I, 565.

⁴ Mather, *Essays to Do Good*, p. 94.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

history of the anti-slavery movement in America was Judge Samuel Sewall's pamphlet "The Selling of Joseph," published June 24, 1700. Sewall had long intended to write something against the slave-trade. A visit from a friend who showed him a petition he intended to present to the General Court for the freeing of a Negro and his wife unjustly held in bondage was said to be in part the occasion of his writing "The Selling of Joseph." Here his opposition to slavery was considerably in advance of any that had appeared previously in American literature. He referred to temptations that confronted masters "to connive at the Fornication of their Slaves; lest they should be obliged to find them Wives or pay their Fines," and said it was "most lamentable to think, how in taking Negroes out of Africa, and selling them here, That which God has joyned together men do boldly rend asunder; Men from their Country, Husbands from their Wives, Parents from their children."⁶ He answered most of the pro-slavery arguments based upon passages from the Scriptures; and in reply to the argument that the opportunity which the Negro in America had of becoming a Christian justified his being brought from Africa, he said that evil must not be done in order that good might result from it.⁷ In 1705 he made inquiry of the Athenian Society "Whether trading for Negroes, i.e., carrying them out of their own country into perpetual slavery, be in itself unlawful, and especially contrary to the great Law of Christianity."⁸ Sewall's moral and religious argument anticipated that of the latter eighteenth century writers, for it called attention to the detrimental effect of slavery upon the master as well as upon the slave.

The anti-slavery arguments of the Quakers during this period were also based most often upon moral and religious grounds, but they revealed a more democratic spirit than those of the Puritans, for they embodied the doctrine of

⁶ Sewall, "The Selling of Joseph," in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 5th Ser., VI, 18.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁸ "Letter-Book of Samuel Sewall," in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 6th Ser., I, 322.

human brotherhood and frequently contained definite plans for the emancipation of the slaves.⁹ The often cited John Woolman (1720-1772) was by no means the earliest of the Quakers in America who opposed slavery. In 1688 German Quakers in Germantown, Pennsylvania, issued a protest against slavery.¹⁰ The work of George Keith, John Hepburn, Ralph Sandiford, Benjamin Lay, and others antedates Woolman's and that of Anthony Benezet exerted a greater influence upon the general anti-slavery movement in America than his;¹¹ but Woolman was the most important of the Quakers who won a place in the American literature of this period. As a traveling preacher he spent the greater part of his life in advocating the cause of the poor and oppressed. This humanitarian spirit was manifested throughout his works, yet there was no bitterness shown toward his opponents. In his twenty-third year while employed at Mount Holly, New Jersey, he was asked by his employer, who had sold a slave, to write a bill of sale. The request was sudden and came from one who employed him by the year; consequently, he wrote it, but told his employer that he believed "slave-keeping to be a practice inconsistent with the Christian religion."¹² He afterwards refused to comply with similar requests. In "Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes" (1754), he said that all nations were of one blood:

"To consider mankind otherwise than brethren, to think favours are peculiar to one nation, and exclude others, plainly supposes a darkness in the understanding: for as God's love is universal, so where the mind is sufficiently influenced by it, it begets a likeness of itself, and the heart is enlarged towards all men."¹³

⁹ See below, p. 396.

¹⁰ See Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, II, 291-293.

¹¹ For an account of the activities of the Quakers in the anti-slavery movement in America during this period, see Thomas Clarkson, *The History of the Rise, Progress, and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave-Trade* (1808), I, 108-156. For an excellent account of Benezet, see also C. G. Woodson, "Anthony Benezet," in the *Journal of Negro History*, II, 37-50.

¹² "The Life and Travels of John Woolman," in *Works*, pp. 15-16.

¹³ Woolman, "Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes," in *Works*, pp. 258-260.

Masters, he contended, were not competent to be the owners of men, for the human mind was not naturally fortified with that firmness in wisdom and goodness necessary to an independent ruler. Furthermore,

“Placing on men the ignominious title slave . . . tends gradually to fix a notion in the mind, that they are a sort of people below us in nature, and leads us to consider them as such in all our conclusions about them.”¹⁴

Woolman could conceive of the enslavement of persons guilty of such crimes as would unfit them to be at liberty; yet the children of such persons, he thought, ought not to be enslaved because their parents sinned.¹⁵ With such arguments he attacked the evils of slavery without antagonizing the slaveholder or losing the respect and sympathy of any of his contemporaries. He told the slaveholder that his wicked speculations in human lives should be stopped, and he was received hospitably by him. He persuaded many of his own group, the Friends, to desist from holding slaves, even though to do so was detrimental to their own interests. The success of the emancipation movement among the Quakers who in the Middle and Northern States had freed practically all of their slaves before the close of the Revolutionary War, is said to have been due very largely to his influence.¹⁶

B. Latter Eighteenth Century Writers

Like the Puritans and the Quakers, writers of the latter eighteenth century made frequent use of the moral and religious argument, but they were more severe in their condemnation of slavery and dwelt more at length upon its demoralizing effect upon the slaveholder and the slave.

By this time, because of the growing complexity of the slave problem due to the rapid increase in the number of slaves, the question of the effect of slavery upon the morals of the master and the slave was one of graver concern to

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 296-297.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 282.

¹⁶ Locke, *Anti-Slavery in America, 1619-1808*, pp. 30-36.

anti-slavery writers than in the colonial period, and accordingly received more detailed treatment. In his *Notes on the State of Virginia*, issued at Paris in 1784 and at Philadelphia in 1788, Thomas Jefferson spoke of the commerce between master and slave as a "perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submissions on the other."¹⁷ He lamented the fact that the children of masters saw this and learned to imitate it. "The man must be a prodigy," said he, "who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances. . . . Indeed I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep forever!"¹⁷ Benjamin Franklin, Sarah Wentworth Morton, and Timothy Dwight were also greatly alarmed over these conditions. In "An Address to the Public; from the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and the Relief of Free Negroes unlawfully held in Bondage" (1789), Franklin said that slavery was such an "atrocious debasement of human nature" that its very extirpation, if not performed with solicitous care, might open a source of serious evils, for

"The unhappy man, who has long been treated as a brute animal, too frequently sinks beneath the common standard of the human species. The galling chains, that bind his body, do also fetter his intellectual faculties, and impair the social affections of his heart . . . reason and conscience have but little influence over his conduct, because he is chiefly governed by the passion of fear."¹⁸

In Mrs. Morton's novel entitled *The Power of Sympathy* (1789), one of the characters (Harrington) noticed on his tour through the United States that those inhabitants "accustomed to a habit of domineering over their slaves" were "haughtier, more tenacious of honour," and more aristocratic in temper¹⁹ than those where slavery did not exist; but he anticipated the happy time when the sighs of the slave should "no longer expire in the air of freedom."²⁰ Probably

¹⁷ Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, pp. 172-174.

¹⁸ Franklin, *Works*, ed. Sparks, II, 515-516.

¹⁹ Morton, *The Power of Sympathy*, II, 74.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 30.

the most bitter attack upon slavery on moral grounds to be found in the poetry of the period was made by Timothy Dwight in *Greenfield Hill* (1794), in which he stressed the immoral effect of slavery upon the African youth, who

“Thus, shut from honour’s path . . . turns to shame,
And fileches the small good, he cannot claim.
To sour, and stupid, sinks his active mind;
Finds joy in drink, he cannot elsewhere find;

Sees from himself his sole redress must flow,
And makes revenge the balsam of his woe.
“Thus slavery’s blast bids sense and virtue die;
Thus lower’d to dust the sons of Afric lie.

“O thou chief curse, since curses here began;
First guilt, first woe, first infamy of man;
Thou spot of hell, deep smirch’d on human kind,
The uncur’d gangrene of the reasoning mind;
Alike in church, in state, and household all,
Supreme memorial of the world’s dread fall;
O slavery! laurel of the infernal mind,
Proud Satan’s triumph over lost mankind!”²¹

The literature of this period contained also a great many anti-slavery arguments based upon religious grounds. Many of these were replies to the argument that slavery was not forbidden in the Scriptures; some pointed to the teachings of Christ as the strongest possible argument against slavery;²² and others were directed definitely toward the religion of the slaveholders. Thomas Paine, in 1775, said that Africans would be filled with abhorrence of Christians and be led to think that the Christian religion would make them more inhuman savages if they embraced it.²³ In a novel by Mrs. Susanna Rowson, called *The Inquisitor; or, Invisible Rambler* (1794), the leading character possessed a ring which, when on his finger, rendered him invisible, so that he could visit at will habitations of vice and luxury and give aid and

²¹ Dwight, *Greenfield Hill*, pp. 37-38.

²² Rush, *An Address to the Inhabitants of the British Settlements in America upon Slave-Keeping* (pub. 1773), pp. 2-3.

²³ Paine, “African Slavery in America,” in *Writings of Thomas Paine*, ed. Conway, I, 6, 7.

protection to persons in distress. Among those for whom he had great sympathy was the slave. After describing a scene in Africa where a native was stolen by the European slave-trader, he followed the enslaved African to the West Indies; saw him in his suffering there until age, sickness, and bitter grief were his only companions. The slave died, and was thrown into a grave "without one tear of effectation or regret being shed upon his bier." But his soul, said the narrator, "shall appear white and spotless at the throne of Grace, to confound the man who called himself a Christian, and yet betrayed a fellow-creature into bondage."²⁴

An effective attack upon the religion of the slaveholder, extremely ironical in method and apparently in imitation of Swift's "A Modest Proposal," was John Trumbull's eighth essay in "The Correspondent," published in the *Connecticut Journal and New Haven Post-Boy* on July 6, 1770.²⁵ Trumbull began by saying that since the whole world was the property of the righteous, the Africans, being infidels and heretics, might rightly be considered lawful plunder. He spoke of the boundless charity and benevolence of the Americans who, with no other end in view than to bring "those poor creatures" within hearing of the gospel, spared no expense of time or money, and endured the greatest fatigues of body and trouble of conscience in carrying on this "pious design"; and asked if the Africans were not, therefore, bound by the ties of gratitude to devote their whole lives to the service of their enslavers as the only reward that could be adequate to such superabundant charity. He was aware that some persons doubted whether the sole purpose of Americans in enslaving Africans was to teach them the principles of Christianity, but he was able to prove that this was their purpose by the many instances of learned, pious Negroes; for, said he:

"I myself have heard of no less than three, who know half the letters of the alphabet, and have made considerable advances

²⁴ Rowson, *The Inquisitor; or, Invisible Rambler*, p. 90.

²⁵ See Documents, pp. 493 ff., for a reprint of the entire essay.

in the Lord's prayer and catechism. In general, I confess they are scarcely so learned; which deficiency we do not charge to the fault of any one, but have the good nature to attribute it merely to their natural stupidity, and dullness of intellect.'²⁶

He called attention to many other nations in the world whom Americans had equal right to enslave, and who stood in as much need of Christianity as the Africans, and suggested, in particular, that the Turks and Papists should thus be transformed into Christians:

"I propose at first and by way of trial, in this laudable scheme, that two vessels be sent, one to Rome, and the other to Constantinople, to fetch off the Pope and the Grand Signior; I make no doubt but the public, convinced of the legality of the thing, and filled to the brim with the charitable design of enslaving infidels, will readily engage in such an enterprise. For my part, would my circumstances permit, I would be ready to lead in the adventure, and should promise myself certain success, with the assistance of a select company of seamen concerned in the African trade. But at present, I can only show my zeal, by promising when the affair is concluded and the captives brought ashore, to set apart several hours in every day, when their masters can spare them, for instructing the Pope in his creed, and teaching the Grand Signior to say his catechism.'²⁶

II. ARGUMENTS BASED UPON NATURAL AND INALIENABLE RIGHTS

In American literature as early as 1700 the theory that all men were born free and had equal rights was used in reference to the African slave.²⁷ Samuel Sewall contended that "all Men, as they are the Sons of Adam, are Coheirs, and have equal Right unto Liberty, and all other outward Comforts of Life"; that Joseph was "rightfully no more a Slave to his Brethren, than they were to him"; and that they had "no more Authority to *Sell* him, than they had to *Slay* him."²⁸ It was not until the latter part of the eighteenth

²⁶ Trumbull, "The Correspondent, No. 8," in the *Connecticut Journal and New Haven Post-Boy*, July 6, 1770.

²⁷ For an account of the beginnings of this doctrine among English-speaking peoples in the seventeenth century and of the extent to which the writings of John Locke influenced eighteenth century authors, including Americans, in their use of it, see Charles A. Beard, *The Economic Basis of Politics*, pp. 82-85; Harold J. Laski, *Political Thought in England from Locke to Bentham*, pp. 29-76; and D. G. Ritchie, *Natural Rights*, pp. 3-19.

²⁸ Sewall, "The Selling of Joseph," in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 5th Ser., VI, 16-17.

century, however, that opposition to slavery based upon the theory of the natural and inalienable rights of man found fullest expression in American literature. During the period of the American Revolution, when all loyal Americans were asserting their own rights against the claims of England, this doctrine became a convenient means of advancing the cause of freedom generally. The more liberal-minded writers applied it without distinction as to race or condition; whereas others allowed considerations of expediency to determine the nature and extent of their defense and practical application of the theory.²⁹ In 1764 James Otis contended that by the law of nature all men, whether white or black, were born free; and inquired whether any logical inference in favor of slavery could be drawn from a flat nose and a long or short face.³⁰ Thomas Paine, in 1775, argued that inasmuch as the Africans were not convicted of forfeiting freedom, they had a "natural, perfect right to it"; and he entreated the Americans to consider with what "consistency or decency" they complained so loudly of attempts to enslave them, while they held so many hundred thousands in slavery and annually enslaved more "without any pretence of authority, or claim upon them."³¹ Again, in 1807, in William Dunlap's play entitled *The Father of an Only Child*,³² this

²⁹ Patrick Henry, for instance, thought it was amazing that at a time when the rights of humanity were defined with precision, in a country above all others fond of liberty, there should be so many men (including himself) holding slaves. "I am drawn along," said he, "by the general inconvenience of living without them. I will not, I cannot justify it. However culpable my conduct, I will so far pay my devoir to virtue, as to own the excellence and rectitude of her precepts, and to lament my own want of conformity to them."—"Letter of Patrick Henry of Virginia, to Robert Pleasants, of the Society of Friends" (1773), in L. M. Child, *The Evils of Slavery and the Cure of Slavery*, p. 3. Thomas Jefferson also advanced the theory of natural rights, but remained an owner of slaves until his death. In 1785, however, he gloried in the fact that in Virginia young men were coming into office who had "sucked in the principles of liberty, as it were, with their mother's milk," and said that it was to them that he looked with anxiety to turn the fate of slavery. See Jefferson, *Writings*, ed. Washington, I, 377.

³⁰ Otis, *The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved*, p. 43.

³¹ Paine, *Writings*, ed. Conway, I, 6, 7.

³² It should be noted that the anti-slavery speech here concerning the hero did

kind of sentiment found expression in a description of Colonel Campbell, the hero, who, on his estate in Virginia, said one of the characters, "liberated all those unhappy Africans, who had been doomed by his predecessors to a hopeless life of slavery. He not only liberated, but protected, and placed them in the way, and with the means, of becoming useful to themselves and to others. 'No,' said my gallant colonel, 'it never shall be said that I shed the blood of my English brethren for a theoretic principle, which I violate myself in practice.'" ³³ But the strongest of these arguments based upon the theory of the natural rights of man was made by Joel Barlow in *The Columbiad* (1807). ³⁴ After dwelling somewhat at length upon the peace America enjoyed as a result of her "victories, virtues, wisdom, weal," the author had Atlas, the guardian of "old Afric's clime," inquire of his brother Hesper, guardian of the Western Continent, why the African tribes were enslaved. He censured Hesper's proud sons for preaching faith, justice, liberty, and the rights of man, without practicing these virtues, and urged that the rights of man be asserted:

"Prove plain and clear how nature's hand of old
Cast all men equal in her human mould!
Their fibres, feelings, reasoning powers the same,
Like wants await them, like desires inflame.

Equality of Right is nature's plan;
And following nature is the march of man.
Whene'er he deviates in the least degree,
When, free himself, he would be more than free,
The baseless column, rear'd to bear his bust,
Falls as he mounts, and whelms him in the dust." ³⁵

Many minor writers of the latter eighteenth century were also ardent advocates of this theory. Much in the manner of the authors already discussed, but with less effectiveness,

not appear in the earliest edition of this play, called *The Father, or American Shandyism* (1789).

³³ Dunlap, *The Father of an Only Child*, p. 44.

³⁴ The first edition of this poem, entitled *The Vision of Columbus* (1787), did not contain this appeal for the slave.

³⁵ Barlow, *The Columbiad* (ed. 1809), Book VIII, pp. 258-264.

they called attention to the inconsistency between the love of liberty which prevailed in America and the practice on the part of many persons of enslaving the African,³⁶ and contended that the quality of his hair, the color of his skin, and the uncultivated state in which he lived were not sufficient warrant for his being made a slave.³⁷ George Buchanan argued that God created men after his own image and granted them liberty and independence, and that if varieties were found in their "structure and colour," these were to be attributed to the nature of their diet and habits and to the soil and climate of the land they inhabited, and served as "flimsy pretexts" for enslaving them.³⁸ Using the same argument that Thomas Paine had used in 1775, Enos Hitchcock in 1790 and Jonathan Edwards³⁹ in 1791 contended that Americans had no right to deprive the Africans either of their liberty or of their lives, for, neither had God given them this right nor had the Africans by their own voluntary conduct forfeited their liberty or their lives.⁴⁰ In 1791 also Benjamin Banneker, the Negro astronomer, sent to Thomas Jefferson a copy of his Almanac, in which was enclosed a letter entitled "An Appeal on Behalf of the African Race." Here, after calling Jefferson's attention to the doctrine that "all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights; and that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," he asked how Jefferson could detain "by fraud and violence" so many Negroes "under groaning captivity and cruel oppression"

³⁶ Othello, "Essay on Negro Slavery" (1788), in the *American Museum*, IV, 414-415.

³⁷ Enos Hitchcock, *Memoirs of the Bloomgrove Family* (pub. 1790), II, 233-235.

³⁸ Buchanan, "An Oration upon the Moral and Political Evil of Slavery" (1791), p. 7, in W. F. Poole, *Anti-Slavery Opinions Before the Year 1800*.

³⁹ Jonathan Edwards was born in 1745 and died in 1801. He should not be confused with the author of *The Freedom of the Will*, who died in 1758.

⁴⁰ Hitchcock, *op. cit.*, 240; Edwards, *The Injustice and Impolicy of the Slave-Trade*, p. 5.

and be found guilty of "that most criminal act" which he himself professedly detested in others.⁴¹

More in the spirit of defiance than Banneker, Hitchcock, Buchanan, or Edwards, the author of an anonymous poem entitled *The American in Algiers, or the Patriot of Seventy-Six in Captivity* (1797), asserted that the unmerited wrongs of the slave would proclaim with shame America's "boasted rights, and prove them but a name."⁴² Then addressing the Fathers of the American republic, inquiring whence they obtained the right to enslave Africans, he related his own sufferings at the hands of slave owners and concluded the passage with the following impassioned lines:

"Eternal God! and is this freedom's land,
Where whip is law, and mis'ries' wings expand?
Are these the men who spurn'd despotic pow'r?
And drench'd their swords in haughty Albion's gore?
Freedom, avaunt! your sweets I'll never crave,
If this is Liberty, oh! let me be a slave."⁴³

III. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ARGUMENTS

The institution of slavery touched life in so many different ways that early in the literature of America there appeared a great variety of arguments against its continuance. During the eighteenth century the abolition of slavery was regarded by many writers as a social and economic necessity.⁴⁴ One condition that disturbed them was the high cost

⁴¹ Banneker, "An Appeal on Behalf of the African Race," in *The Negro's Friend*, No. 17, p. 4.

⁴² *The American in Algiers*, p. 21.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁴⁴ As early as 1624, five years after slavery was introduced into Virginia, opposition to American slavery on social and economic grounds was made in Sweden by William Usselinx, a native of Antwerp. In a proposition to King Gustavus Adolphus for the establishment of the Swedish Trading Company, Usselinx urged that slaves be not introduced into the Swedish colonies, "because they cost much, work reluctantly, require nothing from mechanics, as they go almost without clothes, and through ill-treatment soon die"; whereas the people from different parts of Europe, being free, intelligent, and industrious, have wives and children and require all kinds of merchandise and mechanics.—J. J. Mickley, "Some Account of William Usselinx and Peter Minuit," in *Hist. and Biog. Papers of the Del. Hist. Soc.*, I, No. III, 10-11.

of slave labor. Slave labor, they said, made slaves unwilling workmen.⁴⁵ The slaves had no inducement to be industrious, because they had no prospect of being other than slaves during life.⁴⁶ Free labor, on the other hand, was a stimulus to industry and made workmen careful of their apparel and their instruments of husbandry.⁴⁷ The argument that America might compete with Great Britain in cheapness of manufactures Franklin considered untenable. In 1751 he said:

"Interest of money is in the colonies from six to ten per cent. Slaves, one with another, cost thirty pounds sterling per head. Reckon then the interest of the first purchase of a slave, the insurance or risk on his life, his clothing and diet, expenses in his sickness and loss of time, loss by his neglect of business, . . . expense of a driver to keep him at work, and his pilfering from time to time, . . . and compare the whole amount with the wages of a manufacturer of iron or wool in England, you will see that labor is much cheaper there than it ever can be by negroes here."⁴⁸

Slave labor also worked a hardship upon the white people. It made them "proud and disdainful of work,"⁴⁹ because they feared that to do the work commonly assigned to slaves would "make them look like slaves."⁵⁰ Franklin contended that the importation of Negroes deprived the poor whites of employment, while a few families acquired enormous wealth, which they spent on foreign luxuries and in educating their children in the habit of those luxuries; consequently, the same income was needed for the support of one that might maintain one hundred.⁵¹ Thomas Jefferson was

⁴⁵ Sewall, "The Selling of Joseph" (1700), in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 5th Ser., VI, 17; Jonathan Boucher, *A View of the Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution* (1797), pp. 38-39.

⁴⁶ Woolman, *Works* (ed. 1774), p. 58.

⁴⁷ Buchanan, "An Oration upon the Moral and Political Evil of Slavery" (1791), p. 16, in W. F. Poole, *Anti-Slavery Opinions Before the Year 1800*.

⁴⁸ Franklin, "Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind and the Peopling of Countries," in *Works*, ed. Bigelow, II, 227.

⁴⁹ Byrd, "Letter to General Oglethorpe" (1736). See *Writings of Colonel William Byrd*, ed. Bassett, p. lxxxv.

⁵⁰ Byrd, "Letter to Lord Egmont" (1736), in the *American Historical Review*, I, 89.

⁵¹ Franklin, *op. cit.*, 228-229.

convinced that in a warm climate no man would labor for himself who could make another labor for him. "This is so true," said he, "that of the proprietors of slaves a very small proportion indeed are ever seen to labour. And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are of the gift of God?"⁵² Thomas Branagan, in 1805, said that in the South, where one citizen by "fraud or force" had gained the sovereignty over a thousand slaves and sent his "imperial commands over as many acres of land," fifty poor whites were in low circumstances; the consequence being that a few of the citizens were furnished with the means of corruption and the many were put into such a condition that they could not avoid being corrupted.⁵³

Some attention was also given by these early anti-slavery writers to the question of the effect of slavery upon the growth of population. Franklin said that the birth rate among slave-holders and slaves was small, because the former, not laboring were enfeebled, and, therefore, not so generally prolific; whereas the latter, overworked and ill-fed, were soon broken in health, the result being that there were more deaths among them than births.⁵⁴ Gilbert Imlay, in 1793, attributed to slavery the tardiness with which the population of the South increased, and suggested, as a means of improving the economic status of the South, that the slaves be attached to the land of their respective masters for a certain number of years as tenants. Afterwards they should be at liberty to change their positions as their circumstances or pleasure might direct. This method, he said, would benefit the slaves by enabling them to educate their children and acquire property. It would also be of great advantage to the state, especially a state like Virginia, where, as a result of the parcelling out of immense waste

⁵² Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, p. 173.

⁵³ Branagan, *Avenia*, Notes (ed. 1810), p. 125.

⁵⁴ Franklin, *op. cit.*, 234.

tracts of land into little farms, the low country, which had been impoverished by the "pernicious cultivation of tobacco, would become fertilized, and restored to its pristine fecundity."⁵⁵

Though not greatly elaborated upon at this time, nor used with great frequency, these social and economic arguments at least suggested the character which this kind of opposition was to assume in the periods to follow; for the question of the effect of slavery upon agriculture, commerce, manufactures, accumulation of wealth, living conditions, growth of population, and so forth, which in the years immediately preceding the Civil War assumed such great importance, had its beginning in this period.

IV. SENTIMENTAL ARGUMENTS

Many writers opposed slavery out of sheer sympathy for the slave. Indications of this humanitarian spirit were observed in connection with moral and religious arguments from the first appearance of anti-slavery sentiment in American literature. During the latter part of the eighteenth century, however, as American authors came more and more under the influence of the sentimentalism of European writers, this spirit became more prevalent, and between 1770 and 1800 colored much of the anti-slavery literature of America. Opposition to slavery on purely sentimental grounds was not, in the strict sense of the term, argument, for it was generally devoid of the intellectual element; yet, what it lacked in this respect, it more than supplied in its strong emotional appeal, and thus became an effective means of promoting the anti-slavery cause. These sentimental appeals for the slave fell into two general classes: those mild in tone with no suggestion of malice or bitterness toward the slaveholder, and those written in a spirit of defiance, and partaking of the nature of bitter invective.

Several of the milder appeals for the slave were utter-

⁵⁵ Imlay, *A Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America*, pp. 203-204.

ances of the Negroes themselves who had had kind masters.⁵⁶ For instance, in her poem entitled "To the Right Honorable William, Earl of Dartmouth" (1773), Phillis Wheatley, the Negro poetess, explained the source of her love of freedom without any manifestation of ill-will toward those responsible for her being made a slave:

"Should you, my lord, while you peruse my song,
Wonder from whence my love of Freedom sprung,
Whence flow these wishes for the common good,
By feeling hearts alone best understood,
I, young in life, by seeming cruel fate
Was snatch'd from Afric's fancy'd happy seat:
What pangs excruciating must molest,
What sorrows labour in my parents' breast?
Steel'd was that soul and by no misery mov'd
That from a father seiz'd his babe belov'd:
Such, such my case. And can I then but pray
Others may never feel tyrannic sway?"⁵⁷

The same was true of the author of an anonymous poem entitled "A Poetical Epistle to the Enslaved Africans" (1790). This author wrote "in the character of an ancient Negro," born a slave but later liberated, and showed deep sympathy for the slaves; but he urged them to use no violence in their efforts to gain freedom:

"Be patient, humble, diligent, and true,
In hope of coming freedom, as you can—
Commend your righteous cause to God and Man.

Meanwhile—in silence let us wait the hour
That shall to civil-life our Race restore—
To God let Afric's dusky Sons sing praise,
His works are marvelous and just his ways."⁵⁸

Of the other sentimental appeals of this class—some of which, such as John Woolman's essay "On Loving our Neighbors,"⁵⁹ described rather touchingly the condition of

⁵⁶ Jupiter Hammon, a slave poet who had been treated kindly by his master, delivered "An Address to the Negroes of the State of New York" (1787), in which he expressed keen sympathy for the younger slaves, whom he longed to see freed, but showed little concern about his own freedom.

⁵⁷ Wheatley, *Poems on Various Subjects*, p. 74.

⁵⁸ *A Poetical Epistle to the Enslaved Africans*, pp. 21-22.

⁵⁹ See Woolman, *Works* (ed. 1774), p. 398.

the slave—probably the strongest from an emotional point of view appeared in John Murdock's comedy, *The Triumph of Love; or, Happy Reconciliation* (1795); in Sarah W. Morton's poem *Beacon Hill* (1797); and in Henry Sherburne's novel, *The Oriental Philanthropist* (1800). In *The Triumph of Love*, one of the earliest American plays containing anti-slavery sentiment, Sambo, a slave belonging to George Friendly, soliloquized upon his condition and the uncertainty of his fate should his kind master die, remarking that "the great somebody above" did not so order things. His master overheard the soliloquy, and was made to realize, as he had never done before, the great injustice of slavery:

"Be softened as thou wilt, still, slavery, thy condition is hard. The untutored, pathetic soliloquy of that honest creature, has more sensibly affected me, than all I have read, or thought, on that barbarous, iniquitous slave-trade. . . . It is cruel. It is unjust, for one creature to hold another in a state of bondage for life. Sambo, thou shalt be free."⁶⁰

He accordingly gave Sambo his freedom, allowing him either to remain in his own employ upon a salary or to go where he might be happy. In *Beacon Hill* Mrs. Morton extolled the work of the several states and their commanding officers in the Revolutionary War, but inquired of Carolina how she could contend for freedom without heeding the scourge that inflicted suffering upon her shackled slave. She further inquired:

"What boots the fleecy field, and ricy mead,
If mid their bloom the culturing captive bleed!
Or what avails, that many a sumptuous dome
To every traveller yields a generous home,
If the rich banquet, and costly cheer
Are fan'd by sighs, and moisten'd with a tear!"⁶¹

Henry Sherburne's *The Oriental Philanthropist* revealed even greater sympathy for the slave than *The Triumph of Love* or *Beacon Hill*, for the hero, the Chinese Prince Nytan, visited the home of a rich Turk who owned African slaves, persuaded him to free his slaves, and offered him a supply

⁶⁰ Murdock, *The Triumph of Love*, p. 52.

⁶¹ Morton, *Beacon Hill*, p. 35.

of money to defray the expense of their journey back to their native land. To a remark of one of the slaves that his sovereign in Africa was an enemy of every species of slavery, and that God would avenge slavery by a dreadful punishment, Prince Nytan replied:

"Yes, the emancipation of the human race from every species of slavery is not far distant. The mists of ignorance are fast dispersing. You, Zaddquin, shall carry a letter from me to your sovereign. He is the friend of humanity, and will become an instrument of much good in the African world."⁶²

The authors of sentimental arguments of the second class did not stop with a mere expression of sympathy for the slave, but assumed a more defiant attitude, many of them employing the most bitter invective against slavery and the slave-trade.

Some of these writers exposed the cruelties that the slave suffered in America and the West Indies at the hands of overseers or other persons placed over him; as, for example, Robert Munford, in a poem entitled "A Letter from the Devil to his Son" (1798), and St. John Crèvecoeur, in *Letters from an American Farmer* (1782).⁶³ In Munford's poem the intimation was that more sympathy was shown the slave in hell than on earth. Satan, pleased with the evil deeds of his son, promised to give him a position in hell. He, accordingly, summoned his crew to inquire what position best suited his son's abilities. A Negro offered the suggestion that he be not made an overseer,

"For dat man, he been killey me."

Whereupon Satan decided to build another hell for his son to govern, noting meanwhile, with respect to the slave, that

"His back, his head, his meagre face,
Drew pity from the hellish race;
A murmur ran from shore to shore,
And hell was instant in a roar."⁶⁴

⁶² Sherburne, *The Oriental Philanthropist*, pp. 163-164.

⁶³ Philip Freneau did likewise in his poem "To Sir Toby" (1792). See *Poems*, ed. Pattee, II, 258-260.

⁶⁴ Munford, "A Letter from the Devil to his Son," in *Plays and Poems*, p. 194.

Crèvecoeur gave a more horrible picture of slavery than this. After a severe arraignment of the people of the South for their treatment of the slave, he described a scene he had witnessed in the South in which a slave, who had been accused of killing an overseer, was suspended from a tree in a cage and left there to be tortured to death by the birds of prey:

"I shudder when I recollect that the birds had already picked out his eyes; his cheek bones were bare; his arms had been attacked in several places, and his body seemed covered with a multitude of wounds. From the edges of the hollow sockets and from the lacerations with which he was disfigured, the blood slowly dropped, and tinged the ground beneath."⁶⁵

Then he related the brief conversation which took place between himself and the slave when he gave the latter water to drink:

"'Tankè, you whitè man, tankè you, putè some poison and give me.'

"'How long have you been hanging there?' I asked.

"'Two days, and me no die; the birds, the birds; aaah me!'

"Oppressed with the reflections which this shocking spectacle afforded me, I mustered strength enough to walk away, and soon reached the house at which I intended to dine."⁶⁶

More often, however, the sentimental arguments of this second class dealt more specifically with the slave-trade, the source of the evil, and demanded the most severe punishment imaginable for those engaged therein.⁶⁷ In *The Beauties of Santa Cruz* (1776), in which ten stanzas (70-79) were devoted to the subject of slavery, Philip Freneau made a bitter attack upon this traffic. Beginning with an appeal to the sympathy of the reader, his lines quickly assumed the nature of an invective against greed for gold at the sacrifice of the lives of human beings:

"See yonder slave that slowly bends his way,
With years, and pain, and ceaseless toil oppress,

⁶⁵ Crèvecoeur, "Thoughts on Slavery," in *Letters from an American Farmer*, pp. 233-235.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 235.

⁶⁷ See Gilbert Imlay, *The Emigrants; or The History of an Expatriated Family* (1793), I, 136-138.

Though no complaining words his woes betray,
The eye dejected proves the heart distrest.

“Perhaps in chains he left his native shore
Perhaps he left a helpless offspring there,
Perhaps a wife, that he must see no more,
Perhaps a father, who his love did share.

“Curs’d be the ship that brought him o’er the main,
And curs’d the hands who from his country tore,
May she be stranded, ne’er to float again,
May they be shipwreck’d on some hostile shore.”⁶⁸

Royall Tyler’s opposition to the slave-trade was of the same nature as Freneau’s. In *The Algerine Captive* (1797), the narrator, Dr. Updike Underhill, after a series of adventures in America and England, became a surgeon on a ship bound for Africa, where slaves were to be secured and conveyed to the British West Indies and South Carolina. The narrator was shocked to hear men talk of purchasing human beings as if they were so many head of cattle or swine. But when, said he,

“I suffered my imagination to rove to the habitation of these victims to this infamous, cruel commerce, and fancied that I saw . . . the fond husband torn from the embraces of his beloved wife, the mother from her babes . . . and all the tender, endearing ties of natural affection rended by the hand of avaricious violence, my heart sunk within me. I execrated myself for even the involuntary part I bore in this execrable traffic: I thought of my native land, and blushed

“I cannot even now reflect on this transaction without shuddering. I have deplored my conduct with tears of anguish; and I pray a merciful God . . . that the miseries, the insults, and cruel woundings I afterwards received when a slave myself,⁶⁹ may expiate for the inhumanity⁷⁰ I was necessitated to exercise toward my brethren of the human race.”⁷¹

The two most effective attacks upon the slave-trade of all those made during this period were made by Thomas Branagan in 1805, when he published at Philadelphia two epics entitled *Avenia; or a Tragical Poem* and *The Peniten-*

⁶⁸ Freneau, “The Beauties of Santa Cruz,” in *Poems*, ed. Pattee, I, 262-263.

⁶⁹ He was later enslaved by the Algerines.

⁷⁰ As a surgeon he had to inspect the bodies of the slaves.

⁷¹ Tyler, *The Algerine Captive*, pp. 98-101.

tial Tyrant; or Slave Trader Reformed. Branagan had already been employed on vessels engaged in the slave-trade and had served as overseer on a plantation in Antigua. These poems, written in the heroic couplet, depicted slavery in its worst form. They contained a frontispiece intended to contrast slavery with liberty. The Goddess of Liberty was seated before her temple, viewing with sad countenance a group of African slaves, "in order to demonstrate," said the author, "the hypocrisy and villainy of professing to be votaries of liberty, while at the same time, we encourage or countenance, the most ignoble slavery."⁷² In *Avenia* were described the bloody struggles in Africa between the natives and the Christian slave-traders, culminating in the capture, importation, and preparation for the sale of those Africans who were neither killed in battle nor drowned in their passage over the sea. Avenia, the heroine, attacked by one of the planters and grieved by the constant thought of the fate of her husband and of her own condition, ascended a high rock and committed suicide by plunging into the sea. The intensity of the author's feeling regarding such events as he described was shown in the following lines:

"Give ear ye tyrants, distant nations hear,
And learn the judgments of high heaven to fear,
Your children yet unborn shall blush to see,
Their predecessors' guilt and villany,
Their impious thirst for gold, while fierce in arms,
Their cruel breasts no tender pity warms;
Should heathens but one virtuous Christian find,
Name but the slave-trade; they will curse your kind."⁷³

In *The Penitential Tyrant*, after contrasting the luxury and pleasures of the idle rich with the sufferings of the slaves, and describing a vision in which the unhappy slaves rose before his view, charging him with being negligent in exhibiting their wrongs, the author confessed his guilt—he had been a slave-trader and overseer himself—became a real Christian, and urged his readers to live in truth the Christian life.

⁷² Branagan, *The Penitential Tyrant*, p. iii; *Avenia* (ed. 1810), p. ii.

⁷³ Branagan, *Avenia; or a Tragical Poem* (ed. 1810), p. 205.

Branagan was fully aware of his short-comings as a writer of verse, but felt that he was justified in publishing these poems because of the worthy cause they defended. Appearing just before the prohibition of the African slave-trade by Congressional action, *Avenia* and *The Penitential Tyrant* must have done much by way of influencing the public sentiment of the time. On May 11, 1805, Thomas Jefferson, then President of the United States, in a letter to Dr. George Logan, wrote as follows of having received a letter from Thomas Branagan asking for his subscription to *Avenia*:

"The cause in which he [Branagan] embarks is so holy, the sentiments he expresses in his letter so friendly that it is highly painful to me to hesitate on a compliance which appears so small. But that is not its true character, and it would be injurious even to his views, for me to commit myself on paper by answering his letter. I have most carefully avoided every public act or manifestation on that subject."⁷⁴

On December 12, 1805, the same year in which *Avenia* and *The Penitential Tyrant* appeared, Senator Bradley of Vermont gave notice of a bill to prohibit the introduction of slaves after 1808.⁷⁵ On December 2, 1806, Jefferson himself, in his message to Congress, urged his fellow-citizens to interpose their authority constitutionally "to withdraw the citizens of the United States from all further participation in those violations of human rights which have been so long continued on the unoffending inhabitants of Africa, and which the morality, the reputation, and the best interests of our country, have long been eager to proscribe."⁷⁶ A bill was subsequently passed, becoming on March 2, 1807, the "Act to prohibit the importation of Slaves into any port or place within the jurisdiction of the United States, from and after the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eight."⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Jefferson, *Writings*, ed. Ford, X, 141.

⁷⁵ DuBois, *Suppression of the African Slave-trade*, p. 105.

⁷⁶ Jefferson, *op. cit.*, 315-316.

⁷⁷ DuBois, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

V. PLANS FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVE⁷⁸

The first definite plans for the emancipation of the slaves in America originated during the early part of the eighteenth century among the Quakers, who in the Middle and Northern States had freed practically all of their slaves before the close of the Revolutionary War, and who continued thereafter to exert an important influence upon the emancipation movement in America.⁷⁹ So far as American literature is concerned, however, it was not until the latter part of the eighteenth century that elaborate schemes for emancipation began to appear.⁸⁰ Nearly all of these called for

⁷⁸ For a detailed account of the plans initiated before 1808 for the emancipation of the slaves, see M. S. Locke, *Anti-Slavery in America, 1619-1808*.

⁷⁹ As early as 1714 and 1737 John Hepburn and Benjamin Lay published respectively definite plans for the emancipation of the slaves. The plan published by Hepburn provided that those Negroes whose freedom masters would grant be returned to Africa; that money be raised for this purpose; and that those not desiring their freedom be retained in America as slaves. Lay's plan provided that the slaves be first educated and then set free. See M. S. Locke, *Anti-Slavery in America, 1619-1808*, pp. 30-31. Anthony Benezet urged that further importation of slaves be prohibited; that those already in America, after serving as "long as may appear to be equitable," be declared free, be enrolled in the county courts, and be compelled to live "a certain number of years within the said county under the care of the overseers of the poor"; that the children be given instruction; and that a small tract of land be assigned to every family of Negroes, who should be compelled to live upon and improve it. See Benezet, *Some Historical Account of Guinea* (ed. 1771), pp. 140-141. John Woolman, the most important of the Quakers who won a place in the American literature of this period, offered no definite scheme of emancipation, but saw no insurmountable difficulties in the way of attaining it. See Woolman, "Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes" (1754), in *Works*, p. 324. For a detailed account of the part played by the Quakers in the emancipation of the slaves, see S. B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery*, pp. 198-244.

⁸⁰ This interest in emancipation was greatly stimulated by the formation of anti-slavery societies between 1775 and the close of the century. The first anti-slavery society was formed on April 14, 1775, in Philadelphia. It was called "The Society for the Relief of Free Negroes unlawfully held in Bondage." With its reorganization in 1787, the "Abolition of Slavery," as well as the "Relief of Free Negroes," was included in its program, and Benjamin Franklin was chosen president. Similar societies were formed between 1775 and 1792 in New York, Delaware, Maryland, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Virginia, and New Jersey. See W. F. Poole, *Anti-Slavery Opinions before the Year 1800*, pp. 42-51.

gradual emancipation. There were very few advocates of immediatism during this period.

The belief that the Negro would be unable to care for himself if freed and the fear lest immediate emancipation would work too great a hardship upon the master led many writers to advocate gradual in preference to immediate emancipation.⁸¹ This belief was more fully expressed in the works of Thomas Jefferson than in those of any other writer of the period. He was doubtful of the Negro's ability to care for himself if freed. "This unfortunate difference of color," he said, "and perhaps of faculty, is a powerful obstacle to the emancipation of these people."⁸² Yet on several occasions, he publicly advocated emancipation. While a member of the legislature of Virginia, which he entered in 1769, he proposed an act permitting masters to free their slaves, but his effort was unsuccessful.⁸³ The original draft of the Declaration of Independence contained a bitter arraignment of the King of Great Britain for not prohibiting the slave-trade:

" . . . Determined to keep open market where men should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every attempt to prohibit or restrain this execrable commerce; and that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them by murdering the people on whom he has also obtruded them: thus paying off former crimes committed against the liberties of one people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another."⁸⁴

Jefferson said that this clause was removed from the original draft "in compliance to South Carolina and Georgia, who had never attempted to restrain the importation of slaves,

⁸¹ John Woolman, in 1754, answered the argument that if slaves were freed they could not care for themselves properly, by saying that "to deny people the privilege of human creatures, on the supposition that, being free, many of them would be troublesome, is to mix the condition of good and bad men together, and treat the whole as the worst of them deserve."—"Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes," in *Works*, p. 324.

⁸² Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, p. 154.

⁸³ Jefferson, *Writings*, ed. Washington, I, 3.

⁸⁴ *The Papers of James Madison*, I, 24.

and who on the contrary still wished to continue it.”⁸⁵ He said that certain Northerners also “felt a little tender under those censures,” for though their people had very few slaves themselves, yet they had been pretty considerable carriers of them to others.⁸⁵ Shortly after this, in 1778, a bill which he introduced in the legislature to prevent the further importation of slaves into Virginia was passed without opposition.⁸⁶ Seven years later he expressed the desire that a way might be prepared for total emancipation “with the consent of the masters, rather than by their extirpation.”⁸⁷ To the question of what should be done with the Negro when freed Jefferson also gave considerable thought. In a letter from Paris to Dr. Edward Bancroft, dated January 26, 1789, he said that on his return to America he would endeavor to import as many Germans as he had grown slaves:

“I will settle them and my slaves, on farms of fifty acres each, intermingled, and place all on the footing of the Metayers . . . of Europe. Their children shall be brought up, as others are, in habits of property and foresight, and I have no doubt but that they will be good citizens.”⁸⁸

He also advocated that all slaves born after a given day should be freed and educated, and after a given age sent out of the country. “This,” he said, “would give time for a gradual extinction of that species of labour and substitution of another, and lessen the shock which an operation so fundamental cannot fail to produce.”⁸⁹ The West Indies or Africa, he thought, would be a desirable location for the liberated slaves.⁹⁰ Finally, in December, 1806, as President of the United States, Jefferson recommended to Congress the prohibition of the African slave-trade. Shortly after, a law to that effect was passed which became operative on January 1, 1808.

A great many other advocates of gradual emancipation, whose plans appeared in the literature of America before

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁸⁶ Jefferson, *Writings*, ed. Washington, I, 38.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 377.

⁸⁸ Jefferson, *Writings*, ed. Ford, V, 448.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, XI, 418.

⁹⁰ Jefferson, *Writings*, ed. Washington, IV, 421.

1808, unlike Jefferson, had genuine faith in the Negro's ability to care for himself if freed and contemplated no disastrous results from emancipation either for the master or the slaves, provided the slaves were first prepared for freedom through training and experience;⁹¹ and they included in their plans specific suggestions as to how this training and experience might be given. Thomas Paine, who has been called "the first American abolitionist,"⁹² and Benjamin Rush suggested that those Negroes in America who, from vices of slavery or from age and infirmities, were unfit to be freed should remain the property of those with whom they grew old and from whom they contracted vices; but that the young Negroes should be taught to read and write, instructed in some business, paid for their labor, and after a limited time liberated.⁹³ William Dunlap, the dramatist, went further in his advocacy of gradual emancipation than the authors just mentioned, for he put his theories into practice. After his father's death he actually liberated the family slaves, some of whom he afterwards hired as servants,⁹⁴ and became an active member of the Manumission Society and a trustee of the free school for African children, founded in 1789 by the same society.⁹⁵ He was also a deputy to the convention of the abolition societies of the several states which met at Philadelphia in 1797. Even though Dunlap liberated his own slaves, he was doubtful as to the expediency of sudden abolition; but, said he, "this subject is

⁹¹ Franklin, "An Address to the Public; from the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and the Relief of Free Negroes unlawfully held in Bondage" (1789), in *Works*, ed. Sparks, II, 515-516.

⁹² See *Writings of Thomas Paine*, ed. Conway, I, 2. This designation, based upon the assumption that Paine was the first person in America to offer a definite scheme of emancipation, is hardly justifiable when one considers the work of Hepburn, Lay, Benezet, and Rush, all of whom before 1775, the year in which Paine's plan appeared, had offered plans for the liberation of the slaves. See above p. 395.

⁹³ Rush, *An Address to the Inhabitants of the British Settlements in America upon Slave-Keeping* (1773), pp. 18-20; Paine, "African Slavery in America" (1775), in *Writings*, ed. Conway, I, 8.

⁹⁴ In Dunlap's play, *The Father of an Only Child* (1807), the hero, Colonel Campbell, liberated his slaves and furnished them with the means of "becoming useful to themselves and to others." See above, p. 383.

⁹⁵ O. S. Coad, *William Dunlap*, p. 23.

better understood now, and colonization societies are superseding the abolitionists, who are to be blessed for beginning the good work."⁹⁶

These advocates of gradual abolition during this period were far more numerous than those of immediatism. Of the comparatively few appeals for immediate emancipation that appeared in the literature of the period that by Theodore Dwight, in *An Oration* (1794) delivered before "The Connecticut Society for the Promotion of Freedom and the Relief of Persons Unlawfully Holden in Bondage," and that by Hugh H. Brackenridge, in his novel entitled *Modern Chivalry* (1792), were the most significant. Dwight made a strong plea for immediate emancipation by governmental action, and expressed the belief that the master would not experience any disadvantage in obtaining from the government the value of the slave.⁹⁷ Brackenridge's plea for immediate emancipation took the form of a bitter satire on a law passed in Pennsylvania in 1780 for the gradual abolition of slavery. The hero, Captain Farrago, having lost his servant, Teague O'Regan, who had become an actor, considered purchasing a Negro in his place. Before doing so, he conversed with a Quaker on the subject of slavery. Much in the manner of Swift, the author put into the mouth of the Captain many of the pro-slavery arguments of the time, and gave himself, in the chapter that followed, the remainder of these. Both passages were highly ironical and so skilfully handled that, taken together, they formed probably the most bitter satire of the period on Negro slavery. The Captain began with the argument that force governed all things; the strong man had as much right to invade the liberty of the African as he had to invade the liberty of a horse or an ox; the natural rights of men were resolvable into power on the one hand and weakness on the other. "I should think myself justifiable," said he, "in making any man a slave to answer my purpose, provided, I treated him well while he was such."⁹⁸ Some persons were by nature fitted only to be

⁹⁶ Dunlap, *A History of the American Theater*, p. 170.

⁹⁷ Dwight, *An Oration*, pp. 8, 22.

⁹⁸ Brackenridge, *Modern Chivalry* (ed. 1815), I, Book IV, 140.

slaves; others to be masters. As it was difficult to determine a priori who were intended for slavery and who for freedom, the rule should be "catch, who catch can,"⁹⁹ and every man should have a slave who can get one. It was not of so much consequence who the slave was as it was that there should be one.

This irony was continued with even greater effect by the author himself, who satirized the attitude of the churches and the courts toward slavery. He said that there was no religious denomination, "except the fanatical people called Quakers," that went so far as to insist that its members should not hold slaves.¹⁰⁰ It could not, therefore, be a matter of conscience. He approved of gradual abolition of slavery, for "numbers being embarked in this trade, it must ruin them all at once to desist from it; just as it would greatly inconvenience thieves and cut-throats, who have run risks in acquiring skill in their profession, to be obliged all at once to desist from this and apply themselves to industry in other ways for a livelihood."¹⁰¹ The author feared that some young lawyers in the courts, knowing that it was established by the constitution of the state that all men were born equally free and independent, might show the illegality of gradual abolition. But he hesitated to say more on this topic, lest he should "furnish hints to pettifoggers," who might make ill use of their information.¹⁰²

A backward glance at the anti-slavery literature in America prior to 1808, as discussed in this chapter, will reveal the fact that sentiment against slavery during this period had a gradual and consistent growth. At every stage in its development it reflected the prevailing spirit of the time. Though many writers began early and continued throughout the period to look upon slavery as a great social and economic danger, the principal arguments against slavery from the time of the Puritans until the latter part of the eight-

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 142.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 144.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 145.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 146-147.

eenth century were based upon moral and religious grounds. American literature itself at this time was essentially didactic and religious. The Puritans, being concerned primarily with the moral and religious instruction of the slave, offered no permanent plan for universal emancipation; yet, one of their productions, Samuel Sewall's pamphlet, *The Selling of Joseph*, became really significant in the history of anti-slavery literature. The Quakers, on the other hand, were interested not only in the slave's moral and religious welfare, but also in his being accorded every privilege of an American citizen; and with this end in view, they liberated their own slaves and urged others to follow their example. With the formation of anti-slavery societies between 1775 and the close of the century, the efforts of the abolitionists were united and the production of anti-slavery literature was greatly stimulated. Up to this time the chief forms through which this sentiment had been expressed were poetry and the essay. Now the novel and drama supplemented these, giving to the opponents of slavery additional means with which to disseminate their ideas. From the latter part of the eighteenth century until the abolition of the slave-trade in 1807 by Congressional action, many arguments against slavery were strongly colored by the political philosophy of the time. These were based upon the theory of the natural and inalienable rights of man. During the latter part of the eighteenth century also, with the spread of sentimentalism in literature, American authors were given an additional weapon with which to combat the evil and they made effective use of it in advancing the cause of abolition. With few exceptions, plans for the emancipation of the slaves during the first period provided for gradual emancipation. Many of these also included suggestions for colonizing the freed Negroes in Africa, the West Indies, or elsewhere. There was little opposition at this time to colonization.¹⁰³ Of the appeals for immediate emancipation, that of Hugh H. Brackenridge in *Modern Chivalry* was the most significant.

¹⁰³ Gilbert Imlay, in *A Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America* (1793), p. 203, opposed the colonization of Negroes.

CHAPTER II

THE TRANSITION PERIOD (1808-1831)

During the years immediately following the passage of the Slave-Trade Act in 1807 arguments against slavery, so far as American literature is concerned, were less frequent and on the whole milder in tone than those of the preceding period. The African slave-trade, to the abolition of which many writers of the first period had solely directed their efforts, had, in theory, at least, been abandoned. This period from 1808 to 1831 has been termed the period of preparation for Garrisonian abolitionism,¹ when the opponents of slavery were fitting themselves for the struggle which was to begin in 1831 with William Lloyd Garrison as leader. The chief arguments at this time were moral and religious, social and economic, and sentimental. These, however, differed somewhat in their nature from those already discussed.

I. MORAL AND RELIGIOUS ARGUMENTS

The general tone of the moral and religious arguments against slavery during this period is best illustrated in the "Vision of Slavery," written in 1822 by Ralph Waldo Emerson.² Compared with similar arguments before 1808, the "Vision of Slavery" is mild. Emerson here considered slavery philosophically. He said that he was unable to reconcile the idea of the slave's toiling and suffering from birth to death without any conception of God kindled in his mind, with the idea "that a merciful Lord made man in his benevolence to live and enjoy his works and worship him forever."³ He considered two questions: first, whether any individual had a right to deprive any other individual of freedom without his consent; and second, whether he might continue to withhold the freedom which another had taken away. The

¹ A. B. Adams, *The Neglected Period of Anti-Slavery in America*, p. 252.

² Though not published until 1909, this work is mentioned here as merely indicative of a contemporary young man's opinions.

³ Emerson, *Journals*, I, 180.

weakness and incapacity of the Africans, he said, would seem to have no bearing on the first, though they might affect the second. He called slavery an assault upon reason and common sense, and said that if man was himself free—and it offended the attributes of God to have him otherwise—it was manifestly a bold stroke of impiety to wrest the same liberty from his fellow. And if he was not free, then this “inhuman barbarity ascends to derive its origin from the author of all necessity.”⁴ Four years later (1826) he wrote concerning the slave-trade:

“To stop the slave traffic the nations should league themselves in indissoluble bands, should link the thunderbolts of national power to demolish this debtor of all Justice human and divine.”⁵

The minor writers of this period made considerable use of the moral and religious argument, but they too, with few exceptions, were mild in their opposition to slavery, in most cases making only a brief reference to it.⁶ Two exceptions to this were Anne Royall and David Walker, both of whom made very bitter attacks upon the religion and morals of slaveholders. On her visit to Alexandria, D.C. (now Virginia), in the winter of 1823-1824, Anne Royall was shocked to see so many mulattoes. The presence of so many slaves of this type drew from her a severe condemnation of slaveholders:

“To one unaccustomed to see human nature in this guise, it excites feelings of horror and disgust. . . . Strange that a nation who extol so much, who praise themselves in such unqualified terms, as possessing in the highest degree, both moral and political virtue,

⁴ Emerson, *Journals*, I, 185-186.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 80.

⁶ For example, the Reverend William Miller, of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, delivered on January 1, 1810, “A Sermon on the Abolition of the Slave Trade.” It was written in the spirit of thanksgiving, yet the author touched upon the brutality of those engaged in the slave trade. David Darling, also, in a play performed at the Fredericksburg Theater and published at Charlottesville, Virginia, in 1820, had one of his characters lament the fact that fortunes were not made so rapidly then as formerly, because people living in a civilized country and professing Christianity had “sacrificed the honour of human nature and moral justice by buying and selling their fellow-creatures.”—*Beaux Without Belles, or, Ladies We Can Do Without You*, pp. 11-12.

should afford no better proof of it than this before me. . . . There is a measure even in crime. There is a point, beyond which the most daring will not venture. History affords us many examples, amongst the most barbarous nations, in the most barbarous ages, where the most lawless ruffians become softened at the sight of human distress, to which they were impelled by no law, but that of common humanity. But for man in this free, and (as they say) enlightened country to doom his own children, to a state (to say the least of it) fraught with every species of human misery, we want no better evidence to prove, that such men must not only be void of virtue; but guilty of the most indignant crime.”

David Walker’s work, entitled *Appeal* (1829), was even more severe. Walker was a free Negro, who, dissatisfied with conditions in North Carolina, his native state, moved to Boston, and in 1827 is said to have begun preparations for an insurrection of the slaves.⁸ In 1829 he published his *Appeal*, which ran through three editions within twelve months, and was widely distributed throughout the United States. His work fell into four sections, called “Articles”: 1. “Our wretchedness in consequence of slavery”; 2. “Our wretchedness in consequence of ignorance”; 3. “Our wretchedness in consequence of the preachers of the religion of Jesus Christ”; 4. “Our wretchedness in consequence of the colonizing plan.” The entire work was written in a spirit of defiance. The Americans, he said, made the Negroes the “*most wretched, degraded and abject set of beings that ever lived since the world began.*”⁹ He urged the Negroes to acquire an education and make “tyrants quake and tremble on their sandy foundation.”¹⁰ He was most severe upon proslavery clergymen, concerning whom he wrote as follows:

“Can anything be a greater mockery of religion than the way in which it is conducted by the Americans? It appears as though they are bent only on daring God Almighty to do his best—they chain and handcuff us and our children, . . . drive us around the country like brutes, and go into the house of the God of justice to return Him thanks for having aided them in their infernal cruelties inflicted

⁸ Royall, *Sketches of History, Life, and Manners in the United States*, p. 101.

⁹ A. D. Adams, *The Neglected Period of Anti-Slavery in America*, p. 93.

¹⁰ Walker, *Appeal* (3rd ed., 1830), p. 9.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

upon us. Will the Lord suffer this people to go on much longer, taking his Holy name in vain? Will he not stop them, preachers and all? O Americans!! Americans!! I call God—I call angels—I call men, to witness, that your destruction *is at hand*, and will be speedily consummated unless you Repent.”¹¹

When Walker's *Appeal* was distributed throughout the South, it provoked considerable alarm. A reward of \$1,000 was offered for the author's “head, and ten times as much for the live Walker.”¹² The Mayor of Savannah requested Mayor Otis of Boston to suppress the work, but the Mayor replied that he had not the power to do so.¹³ Walker was advised by friends to flee to Canada, but he refused to leave Boston. He died there in 1830.

II. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ARGUMENTS

In the literature of this period social and economic arguments against slavery occurred less frequently than the other types. They dealt principally with the cost of free as compared with slave labor and with the effect of slavery upon the growth of population.

Slave labor, it was said, was far more costly than that of free men.¹⁴ It was so costly that the income from it was hardly sufficient to maintain the slaves.¹⁵ Where slavery existed farm labor would not be sufficiently varied in quantity. There were many conditions, it was said, which demanded such variety: the changes of the seasons prevented the farmer from conveniently or profitably employing as much labor in winter as in summer; the fluctuations of commerce also induced the farmer to vary the quantity of his labor; and the soil itself required frequent changes in the kind of husbandry. The advantages of free over slave labor

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

¹² H. H. Barnet, *Walker's Appeal, With a Brief Sketch of His Life*, p. vii.

¹³ George W. Williams, *History of the Negro Race in America*, II, 554.

¹⁴ “Views of the Benevolent Society of Alexandria for Ameliorating and Improving the Condition of the People of Color,” in *Freedom's Journal*, May 25-June 22, 1827.

¹⁵ Mathew Carey, *A Short Account of the Malignant Fever and Miscellaneous Essays* (1829), pp. 218-219.

in meeting this situation were probably best stated by James Raymond of Frederick, Maryland, in an essay which appeared in the *African Observer* in 1828:

“The good northern farmer, after tilling his lots a few years, lays them down to grass. This he calls letting his lands rest. But if he cultivated with slave labour, whilst his lands were resting, most of his labourers would also be resting at his expense. . . . A farmer who should purchase a large number of slaves, to perform the labour of his farm in summer, and who should sell them again when winter approaches, and so on from year to year, would be denied a respectable standing in the community. But where labour is free, and, therefore, the subject of contract between the employer and the labourer, these changes are frequently taking place throughout the year.’¹⁶

Mathew Carey was among those who were alarmed over the low birth rate among the white people at the South. He called attention to the fact that in Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia between the years 1790 and 1820 the white population increased only 57 per cent, as opposed to an increase of 81 per cent among the slaves; whereas in the Middle and Eastern States between those years the white population increased 112 per cent. “These facts,” he said, “ought to arouse the citizens of the Southern States to a sense of the necessity of affording a cordial co-operation in the Colonization scheme, as they regard not merely their own welfare, but the interests, welfare, and safety of their children.’¹⁷

III. SENTIMENTAL ARGUMENTS

During the early part of this period authors of the sentimental argument were usually not very severe in their condemnation of slavery. They revealed strong fellow-feeling for the slave, and hoped and were even confident that sooner or later his condition would be ameliorated; but at this time they seldom manifested any bitterness toward his oppressors. As the end of the period approached, however, the

¹⁶ Raymond, “A Prize Essay on the Comparative Economy of Free and Slave Labour in Agriculture,” in the *African Observer*, p. 142.

¹⁷ Carey, *op. cit.*, pp. 218-219.

authors of this type of argument revealed, on the whole, a keener and more forceful resentment toward slavery. They showed, at times, an attitude of defiance and used bitter invective against slaveholders, not hesitating to suggest even a resort to arms in behalf of the slave.

The best examples of the earlier and milder sentimental appeal were *The Africans; or, War, Love, and Duty* (1811), a play attributed to William Dunlap,¹⁸ *Letters from the South* (1816), by James Kirke Paulding, and "The African Chief," a poem by William Cullen Bryant, written in 1825 and published in the *United States Review and Literary Gazette*, December, 1826.¹⁹

The play dealt with the activities of European slave merchants in Africa and the struggles of the natives for freedom. Berissa, the daughter of the African priest, Farulho, was asked by her father what she wished for a wedding gift. She replied that she would have all of his slaves made free and happy. Farulho would have granted her wish; but while her marriage to Selico, another African, was in progress, the town was attacked by a hostile tribe, and Berissa disappeared. The conquering king offered four hundred ounces in gold for the capture of the person who tried to escape with

¹⁸ Considerable doubt has been expressed as to the authorship of this play. In many of the lists of Dunlap's plays that have been consulted it did not appear at all. J. N. Ireland in his *Records of the New York Stage from 1750 to 1860*, I, 267, attributed it to Colman. O. S. Coad in his "William Dunlap," p. 293, attributed it to Dunlap with doubt. Dunlap himself in *A History of the American Theater*, p. 408, included it among his works.

¹⁹ Among the anti-slavery productions of this type by Negro writers of the period may be mentioned the following: "An Oration on the Abolition of the Slave Trade" (1808), by Peter Williams; "An Oration Commemorative of the Abolition of the Slave Trade in the United States" (1809), by Joseph Sidney; "An Address, Delivered on the Celebration of the Abolition of Slavery in the State of New York" (1827), by Nathaniel Paul; and "An Oration in Commemoration of the Abolition of Domestic Slavery in New York," by William Hamilton, in *Freedom's Journal*, October 12, 1827. There were also published in *Freedom's Journal* during this period many anonymous productions of this type, among which were: "The Sorrows of Angola," a poem (June 8, 1827); "Theresa—A Haytian Tale" (January 18, 1828), in which was related the escape of three women from French barbarity in Haiti to the camp of Toussaint L'Ouverture; and "Letters from a Man of Colour, on a Late Bill before the Senate of Pennsylvania" (February 22-March 21, 1828).

Berissa. Selico, supposing Berissa dead, and desirous of providing means for the support of his mother, offered himself as the guilty person. The king, thereupon, decided to have both Berissa and her lover executed. Before the time for the execution, however, Farulho insisted that he tried to escape with Berissa and demanded Selico's release. The mother of Selico also fell at the king's feet and made a plea for her son's life. The king was so much moved by these circumstances that he gave all of them their freedom and presented Berissa with a thousand crowns. The leading African characters were depicted as noble, self-sacrificing persons with a strong sense of duty and reverence for home and family, and with such other characteristics as would insure for them the sympathy of the reader. Throughout the play there was a slight undercurrent of satire on slavery and the slave trade. To a remark of one of the slave merchants that a bill was being passed in London which "would kick their business to the devil," Augustus Mug, a Londoner, and secretary to the African King, replied:

"I am very glad to hear it. The work begins in the natural quarter; and the stream of freedom flows from the very fountain head of true, natural liberty."²⁰

James Kirke Paulding, during a visit in the South in 1816, expressed keen sympathy for the slave. He wished it understood that he was not an advocate of slavery, for, said he, "I hate it: and wish most sincerely and ardently, that there was not a man in our country that could stand up, and with his black finger point to the preamble of our Constitution, which declares—all men are born free and equal—and swear it was not true. . . . Wo to those, who, tempted by avarice, or impelled by vengeance, shall divide the parent from its offspring, and sell them apart in distant lands! A cruel and inhuman act;—for it is seldom we see the ties of kindred or of conjugal affection, stronger than in the poor Negro."²¹ Then he described a scene he had witnessed in the South in

²⁰ Dunlap, *The Africans*, p. 142.

²¹ Paulding, *Letters from the South*, I, 119-120.

which slaves were treated with such cruelty by a white man that he wished to see the man hunted by bloodhounds.²² In the third of these examples of the milder sentimental appeal, "The African Chief,"²³ Bryant related the experiences of an African chief captured and exhibited in the market-place, his ankles still adorned with the rings of gold which he wore when captured. His offer to buy his freedom was promptly refused. The last three stanzas, consisting partly in a dialogue between the African and his captor, were as follows:

" 'Look, feast thy greedy eye with gold
Take it—thou askest sums untold,
And say that I am freed.
Take it—my wife, the long, long day
Weeps by the cocoa-tree,
And my young children leave their play,
And ask in vain for me.'

" 'I take thy gold—but I have made
Thy fetters fast and strong,
And ween that by the cocoa shade
Thy wife will wait thee long.'
Strong was the agony that shook
The captive's frame to hear,
And the proud meaning of his look
Was changed to mortal fear.

" 'His heart was broken—crazed his brain :
At once his eye grew wild ;
He struggled fiercely with his chain,
Whispered, and wept, and smiled ;

²² *Ibid.*, 128-129. It is interesting to note that by 1836 Paulding's attitude toward slavery had changed completely, for in that year he published his *Slavery in the United States*, in which he contended that Negroes were morally, intellectually, and in all other ways unfitted for freedom. He made a virulent attack upon the advocates of immediate emancipation and termed all abolitionists dangerous enemies of religion, morals, liberty, patriotism, and all the social relations of life. A contemporary of Paulding's, Theodore Tilton, later attributed this change of attitude to Paulding's having become an aspirant for political advancement. For a discussion of this see the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, April 21, 1860.

²³ In a poem by Sarah W. Morton, also entitled "The African Chief" and published in 1823, but less effective from an emotional point of view than Bryant's poem, the author described the capture and murder of an African chief by slave-traders, showed profound sympathy for the slave, and urged her readers to feel for "bleeding Africa" and "hate oppression's mad control."—Morton, *Sketches, Fragments, and Essays*, pp. 202-203.

Yet wore not long those fatal bands,
 And once at shut of day,
 They drew him forth upon the sands,
 The foul hyena's prey.'²⁴

On the other hand, a play by Robert Montgomery Bird entitled *The Gladiator* (1831), which was a more severe arraignment of slavery than that made by Dunlap, Paulding, or Bryant, was typical of the sentimental appeals of the latter part of the period. Though depicting the struggles of the oppressed in Italy in the year 73 B.C., it very probably was intended to influence the abolition movement in this country, for the author was reported as saying that if the play had been produced in a slave state, the manager, actors, and author as well would probably have been rewarded with the penitentiary.²⁵ It described the struggles of foreign slaves with Rome for their freedom. Two enslaved Thracian gladiators, Pharsarius and Spartacus, were called upon to meet each other in deadly combat, in the arena, for the amusement of the Roman nobility. Spartacus at first refused to fight a Thracian, but, on being promised freedom for his wife and child, he agreed to meet Pharsarius. Soon, however, discovering that he and Pharsarius were brothers, he not only refused to fight, but immediately organized the gladiators for the purpose of defeating Rome and winning their freedom. Spartacus hoped that death might overtake the Roman fiends who made their mirth

“Out of the groans of bleeding misery!
 Ho, slaves, arise! it is your hour to kill!
 Kill and spare not—for wrath and liberty!
 Freedom for bondmen—freedom and revenge.”²⁶

In the conflicts which ensued the gladiators were successful as long as they fought as a unit. They began to meet reverses when they refused to obey the orders of Spartacus,

²⁴ Bryant, *Poems* (ed. 1890), pp. 77-79.

²⁵ C. E. Foust, *The Life and Dramatic Works of Robert Montgomery Bird*, p. 51.

²⁶ Bird, “The Gladiator,” in C. E. Foust, *The Life and Dramatic Works of Robert Montgomery Bird*, pp. 354-355.

their leader. One by one the followers of Spartacus were struck down, including his brother, wife, and child. In his attempt to reach Crassus, the Roman Praetor, he himself was killed, but not until Bracchius and Lentulus, promoters of the gladiatorial combats, had been slain. The anti-slavery sentiment here was best shown in the author's treatment of Spartacus, who was portrayed quite sympathetically throughout the play. His aim was merely to win his freedom and that of his comrades.

" . . . We do not fight for conquest,
But conquer for our liberties. . . . " ²⁷

Pharsarius deserted him because he would not surrender to Pharsarius the niece of the Roman Praetor whom he held as a prisoner. The closing speech of Crassus, the Roman Praetor, whose life Spartacus was seeking when he fell, gave some idea of the impression Spartacus had made upon his enemies:

"Thy bark is wreck'd but nobly did she buffet
These waves of war, and grandly lies at last,
A stranded ruin on this fatal shore.
Let him have burial; not as a base bondman,
But as a chief enfranchised and ennobled.
If we denied him honour while he lived,
Justice shall carve it on his monument." ²⁸

The sentimental appeals by many minor writers of the latter part of this period also showed very bitter resentment toward slaveholders and their abettors. One of these contrasted the happiness the African enjoyed in his native land with the cruelties he suffered in America;²⁹ another inquired of masters how they could witness the slave's condition without feeling sympathy and guilt;³⁰ and still another urged emancipation to avoid insurrection among the slaves.³¹

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 363.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 440. For an account of the success of this play in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, see *ibid.*, pp. 39-44.

²⁹ James B. Walker, *The Slaves; A Poem* (1831), pp. 1-4.

³⁰ Benjamin Hine, "The Slave Holder" (1829), in *Miscellaneous Poetry: or, The Farmer's Muse*, pp. 208-209.

³¹ "New Year's Eve" (1831), in the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, ed. Lundy, II, 3rd Ser., 149.

Many of these appeals were made by a slave poet, George Horton, of Chatham County, North Carolina, who wrote several poems in which he keenly resented being deprived of his freedom. In 1829 many of his poems were published in order that a sum of money sufficient for his emancipation might be obtained. He was to be emancipated, however, only on condition that he sailed forthwith for Liberia. The project was not successful, however, for in 1837 he was still the slave of James Horton and was employed as a servant at Chapel Hill, North Carolina. The following stanzas were taken from his poem entitled "On Liberty and Slavery" (1829):

"Alas! and am I born for this,
To wear this slavish chain?
Deprived of all created bliss
Through hardship, toil and pain!
.

"Oh, Heaven! and is there no relief
This side the silent grave—
To soothe the pain—to quell the grief
And anguish of a slave?
.

"Come Liberty, thou cheerful sound,
Roll through my ravished ears!
Come, let my grief in joys be drowned,
And drive away my fears.

"Say unto foul oppression, Cease:
Ye tyrants rage no more,
And let the joyful trump of peace,
Now bid the vassal soar.
.

"Bid Slavery hide her haggard face,
And barbarism fly;
I scorn to see the sad disgrace
In which enslaved I lie."³²

The same impatient yearning, but with less bitterness toward his oppressors, characterized Horton's poem called "The Slave's Complaint" (1829):

³² Horton, "Poems by a Slave," in *Memoir and Poems of Phillis Wheatley* (ed. 1838), pp. 130-132.

"Am I sadly cast aside,
On misfortune's rugged tide?
Will the world my pains deride
Forever?

"Must I dwell in Slavery's night,
And all pleasure take its flight,
Far beyond my feeble sight,
Forever?

"Worst of all, must hope grow dim,
And withhold her cheering beam?
Rather let me sleep and dream
Forever!

"Heaven! in whom can I confide?
Canst thou not for all provide?
Condescend to be my guide
Forever:

"And when this transient life shall end,
Oh, may some kind, eternal friend
Bid me from servitude ascend,
Forever!"³³

IV. PLANS FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVE³⁴

During this second period of the anti-slavery movement in America there were advocates of both gradual and immediate abolition. Many of those who favored gradual abolition considered colonization the best method of attaining it. Thomas Jefferson, in 1814, saw no proposition "so expedient, on the whole, as that of emancipation of those born after a given day, and of their education and expatriation after a given age."³⁵ In 1816 the American Colonization Society was organized for the purpose of colonizing free Negroes in Africa or such other place as Congress might "deem most expedient."³⁶ Regarding the effect that such an organization might have upon slavery there was great

³³ Ibid., p. 133.

³⁴ For a detailed account of the plans initiated during this period for the emancipation of the slaves, see A. D. Adams, *The Neglected Period of Anti-Slavery in America, 1808-1831*.

³⁵ Jefferson, "Letter to Edward Coles," in *Writings*, ed. Ford, XI, 418.

³⁶ See "The Formation of the American Colonization Society," by Henry Noble Sherwood, in the *Journal of Negro History*, II, 209-228.

difference of opinion. Many pro-slavery men opposed it because they thought it would lead ultimately to abolition. Many advocates of gradual abolition favored it for the same reason. They thought they saw in it a means whereby their plan to free the slaves might be greatly facilitated.³⁷ The most bitter opponents of colonization, however, were the advocates of immediate emancipation. They contended that colonization strengthened the hold of the master upon the slaves by ridding the country of the free Negroes whose presence in America was causing the slaves to become dissatisfied with their condition.³⁸ The utterances of William Lloyd Garrison during the latter part of this period furnished the most significant example of this attitude. In the year 1826 his writings began to reveal his growing interest in the anti-slavery movement. In May of that year, as editor of the *Free Press*, at Newburyport, Massachusetts, he commented favorably upon an anti-slavery poem entitled "Africa."³⁹ In 1828 as editor of the *National Philanthropist*, at Boston, and of the *Journal of the Times*, at Bennington, Vermont, he took a very active part in the anti-slavery controversy, recommending, while filling the latter position, that petitions be sent to Congress for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. On July 4, 1829, he delivered an anti-slavery address in Boston in which he expressed the desire that the overthrow of slavery might be accomplished without resort to coercive measures, spoke of the inadequacy of the colonization plan as a cure for the evil, and advocated gradual emancipation.⁴⁰ Six weeks later, however, he was convinced that nothing short of immediate and unconditional emancipation would suffice; and on September 2, 1829, writ-

³⁷ Matthew Carey, *A Short Account of the Malignant Fever and Miscellaneous Essays*, pp. 218-219. See also A. D. Adams, *The Neglected Period of Anti-Slavery in America, 1808-1831*, pp. 199-207.

³⁸ David Walker, *Appeal* (3rd ed., 1830), p. 62; James B. Walker, *The Slaves; a Poem* (1831), p. v.

³⁹ For this comment, together with an excerpt from the poem, see W. P. and F. J. Garrison, *William Lloyd Garrison*, I, 64-65.

⁴⁰ Garrison, "First Anti-Slavery Address in Boston," *Old South Leaflets*, II, 85.

ing in the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, in the editing of which he was at that time associated with Benjamin Lundy, he said that the slaves were entitled to immediate and complete emancipation; consequently, to hold them longer in bondage was both "tyrannical and unnecessary."⁴¹ His utterances shortly afterwards regarding the domestic slave-trade led to his being imprisoned in Baltimore for seven weeks.

The years from 1808 to 1831 served to connect the first period of the anti-slavery movement, which had culminated in the abolition of the African slave-trade in 1808, with the more significant period leading up to the Civil War. Throughout these years there was a continuous flow of anti-slavery sentiment which increased in force as it approached the end of the period. At first it was milder in spirit than it had been during the years immediately preceding the passage of the Slave-Trade Act; but as the years passed it developed with increasing severity, reaching its height between 1829 and 1831. It found rather full expression in all the important literary forms of the day. Nor was it confined to any one section, but appeared in the works of writers from Northern, Middle, and Southern States. The moral, religious, and sentimental arguments were used chiefly, though the social and economic were not lacking. Colonization and gradual emancipation were still the rallying cry, yet many advocates of immediatism could be found, chief among whom was William Lloyd Garrison, who, in 1831, became the leading figure in a struggle that did not cease until the close of the Civil War.

⁴¹ W. P. and F. J. Garrison, *William Lloyd Garrison*, I, 143.

CHAPTER III

THE FIRST PERIOD OF MILITANT ABOLITIONISM (1831-1850)

On January 1, 1831, after having given a series of stirring lectures on behalf of the slave, William Lloyd Garrison published the first number of the *Liberator*. Here in a spirit of bold defiance he declared his position with respect to slavery:

“Oppression! I have seen thee face to face,
And met thy cruel eye and cloudy brow;
But thy soul-withering glance I fear not now—
For dread to prouder feelings doth give place,
Of deep abhorrence! Scorning the disgrace
Of slavish knees that at thy footstool bow,

I also kneel—but with far other vow
Do hail thee and thy herd of hirelings base:—
I swear, while life-blood warms my throbbing veins,
Still to oppose and thwart, with heart and hand,
Thy brutalizing sway—till Afric’s chains
Are burst, and Freedom rules the rescued land,
Trampling Oppression and his iron rod:
Such is the vow I take—so help me, God!”¹

This event might be said to mark the beginning of militant abolitionism, which, under the leadership of Garrison, had a steady growth for a period of thirty years, reaching its climax in 1861 with the outbreak of hostilities.

Before 1831, as already noted, anti-slavery sentiment had been expressed in all sections of the country. Some of the most bitter utterances against slavery had come from the South. After 1831, however, this sentiment was confined principally to the Middle and Northern States. In 1827 Benjamin Lundy estimated that there were in the United States one hundred and thirty anti-slavery societies, of which one hundred and six were in slaveholding states.² In 1837, according to the same authority, there was not one such

¹ Garrison, the *Liberator*, January 1, 1831.

² *Life, Travels and Opinions of Benjamin Lundy*, p. 218.

society existing in a slaveholding state.³ Among the many reasons given for this sudden change of sentiment in the South were the following: the rapid growth of the cotton industry, which resulted in an increased demand for slave-labor; the Nat Turner insurrection in 1831; the debates in the Virginia Legislature of 1831 and 1832, in which were offered plans for partial or total abolition of slavery; the rise of the new abolition movement in the North under the leadership of Garrison; and the growing opposition to the colonization plan, which many Southerners had been active in promoting. The reaction in the South following upon these events was responsible for the almost complete absence of anti-slavery sentiment in the literature of the South after about 1831. In the North, on the other hand, under the influence of Garrison and his followers, sentiment against slavery increased in extent and in severity throughout the period. Here the production of anti-slavery literature was actively encouraged by the rapid increase in the number of anti-slavery societies. The New England Anti-Slavery Society was organized at Boston in 1832, and the American Anti-Slavery Society at Philadelphia in 1833. These were followed immediately by others, so that by October, 1835, there were in the North three hundred anti-slavery societies with one hundred thousand members.⁴

I. MORAL AND RELIGIOUS ARGUMENTS

In this period, as in the two periods already discussed, the moral and religious arguments against slavery played an important part in molding public sentiment. They fell into two groups: (1) those which showed opposition to slavery on the ground that it had a detrimental influence upon the morals and religion of the master and the slave, but which were not written to create prejudice against the master, and (2) those which not only represented slavery as a moral and

³ *Ibid.*, p. 296. On the other hand, A. E. Grimke, in *Letters to Catherine E. Beecher* (1838), pp. 58-93, gave an interesting account of the prevalence of the abolition spirit in certain sections of the South between 1834 and 1837.

⁴ Edward Channing, *A History of the United States*, V, 148.

religious detriment to the slaveholder and the slave, but which also revealed a great deal of hostility toward Southerners and their Northern sympathizers and anticipated the bitter sectional prejudice which characterized so much of the anti-slavery literature during the years immediately preceding the Civil War.

Those arguments which were concerned primarily with the effect of slavery upon the master revealed the fact that slavery nourished in him the passion for power and its kindred vices. It gave him license to practice cruelty and lawlessness and destroyed his domestic affections and joys.⁵ It also caused him to be indolent and extravagant and in general to dissipate his energies.⁶ Emerson said that the planter was the "spoiled child of his unnatural habits," and had contracted in his indolent and luxurious climate the need of excitement by irritating and tormenting his slave.⁷ In the British West Indies before slavery was abolished the planters, he said, were full of vices, and their children were "lumps of pride, sloth, sensuality and rottenness."⁸ The civility of no race, he continued, could be perfect while another race was degraded:

"It is a doctrine alike of the oldest, and the newest philosophy, that man is one, and that you cannot injure any member, without a sympathetic injury to all the members. America is not civil, whilst Africa is barbarous."⁹

Even persons of the North, it was said, were imitating Southerners and a fondness for show, ornament, and extravagance was to be noticed in all classes of society throughout the country.¹⁰

⁵ William E. Channing, *Slavery* (1835), pp. 90-91; James Fenimore Cooper, "On American Slavery" (1828), in *The American Democrat*, pp. 173-174; William A. Carruthers, *The Kentuckian in New York*, I, 119.

⁶ *The Fanatic, or the Perils of Peter Pliant, the Poor Pedagogue* (1846), pp. 21, 45, 55.

⁷ Emerson, "Emancipation in the British West Indies" (1844), in *Works*, II, 515.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 519.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 533.

¹⁰ Elizabeth M. Chandler, *Essays, Philanthropic and Moral* (ed. 1836), pp. 116-117.

The detrimental effect of slavery upon the morals and religion of the slave was also freely discussed. He was lazy, indifferent, and revengeful because he worked without hope of reward.¹¹ He was also given to stealing, lying, intemperance, and in general to sensual excess,¹² and was "the veriest outcast on the face of God's beautiful creation."¹³ One of the most effective of these arguments was that used by Herman Melville in *Mardi* (1849). Several of the characters here—Taji, Yoomy, Babbalanga, King Media, and Mohi—visited the South of Vivenza (or America) in search of Yillah, who was the spirit of ideal happiness. Here they observed slavery in its worst form. They were told by an overseer that the slaves had no souls; that they were brutes; but that since they were fed, clothed, and cared for, they were happy. Babbalanja was greatly moved by the condition of the slaves and spoke with one of them:

"What art thou? . . . Dost ever feel in thee a sense of right and wrong? Art ever glad or sad?—They tell us thou art not a man:—speak, then, for thyself; say, whether thou beliest thy Maker."

The serf replied:

"Speak not of my Maker to me. Under the lash, I believe my masters, and account myself a brute; but in my dreams, bethink myself an angel. But I am bond; and my little ones;—their mother's milk is gall."¹⁴

Yoomy interposed:

"Just Oro! do not thunders roll,—no lightnings flash in this accursed land! . . . Oh fettered sons of fettered mothers, conceived and born in manacles, . . . oh, beings as ourselves, how my stiff arm shivers to avenge you! 'Twere absolution for the matricide, to strike one rivet from your chains. My heart outswells its home."¹⁴

He hoped that there might be some way to loose their bonds

¹¹ W. E. Channing, *Slavery* (1835), pp. 70-72; R. M. Bird, *Sheppard Lee* (1836), p. 171; Elizabeth Ricord, *Zamba: or the Insurrection* (1842).

¹² James Freeman Clarke, *Slavery in the United States* (1842), p. 8; "Slavery in the United States," in the anonymous *Hints and Sketches* (1839), p. 138; "The True Character of Slavery," in the *Pennsylvania Freeman*, April 12, 1838.

¹³ Chandler, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

¹⁴ Melville, *Mardi* (ed. 1922), II, 248.

without one drop of blood, but felt that it was right to fight for freedom, whoever might be the thrall.¹⁵ Mohi predicted that there would yet be war.¹⁶ He said that slavery was

“ . . . a blot, foul as the crater pool of hell ; it puts out the sun at noon ; it parches all fertility ; and, conscience or no conscience—ere he die—let every master who wrenches bond-babe from mother, that the nipple tear ; unwreathes the arms of sisters ; or cuts the holy unity in twain ; till apart fall man and wife, like one bleeding body cleft :—let that master thrice shrive his soul ; take every sacrament ; on his bended knees give up the ghost ;—yet shall he die despairing ; and live again, to die forever damned.”¹⁷

He thought that time would do much by way of solving the problem :

“ The future is all hieroglyphics. Who may read ? But, methinks the great laggard Time must now march up apace, and somehow befriend these thralls. It cannot be, that misery is perpetually entailed. . . . Yes : Time—all-healing Time—Time, great Philanthropist !—Time must befriend these thralls.”¹⁷

The moral and religious arguments of the second group were more numerous than those just discussed. These, for the most part, were written to create prejudice against slaveholders and their Northern sympathizers, and must have played an important part during this period in making the South solidly pro-slavery. Most of these attacks were prompted by the growing tendency on the part of many Northerners, during the period, of co-operating with slaveholders by returning fugitive slaves to their owners.¹⁸ One of the earliest novels in American literature to be devoted wholly to the anti-slavery cause was written to condemn this practice. In 1834 Richard Hildreth, the historian, went to the South for his health and remained there nearly two years on a slave plantation. The outcome of this experience was a strong anti-slavery novel published in 1836 under the title of *The Slave: or, Memoirs of Archy Moore*. In his account of the difficulties he experienced in getting his book before

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 249.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 250.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 252.

¹⁸ For an account of the cases growing out of this practice and other cases resulting from kidnapping, see Channing, *A History of the United States*, VI, 88-118.

the public the author revealed an important phase of Northern sentiment at that time with respect to slavery. He said that the book was written before the spring of 1836 and was carried to New York for publication, but no one dared to publish it. It met with the same timidity in Boston, and was finally printed without any publisher's name on the title-page. With much difficulty a bookseller was found and the first edition was disposed of in four or five months. "But," said he, "no review or magazine, or hardly a newspaper, took any notice of it—a silence caused quite as much by not knowing what to say, as by any indifference to the subject or contents of the book, both of which were certainly, in some respects, well calculated to elicit criticism."¹⁹

In this story the author related the experiences of Archy Moore, whose mother was a slave and whose father, Colonel Moore, was a planter of eastern Virginia. During the time that he was a companion of his half-brother James, Archy was taught to read and write. He was so apt in his studies that he became his half-brother's tutor and dearest friend. On James's death Archy chose labor in the fields in preference to being in the service of another half-brother, who was reputed to be a cruel master. But he found life in the fields under an almost inhuman overseer so unbearable that he welcomed a summons to return to the house where his services had become necessary. Here he fell in love with Cassy, the maid, and later eloped with her when he realized the danger of allowing her to be near the Colonel. They were overtaken and brought back to an even more miserable life than that from which they had escaped. Then after a series of distressing experiences leading to their final separation, Archy escaped to the North and thence to France. He became a pirate, acquired wealth, and sent an agent to America to seek out his wife and child; but on learning that they had not been found, he resolved to revisit America and make the search himself, determined that in the event he should be captured he would be prepared to frustrate his enemies:

¹⁹ Hildreth, *The Slave: or, Memoirs of Archy Moore* (ed. 1840), I, 3.

"Should I be recognized and seized, . . . I know a way to disappoint the tyrants; the guilt be on their heads! I cannot be a slave a second time."²⁰

The author based most of his opposition to slavery upon moral and religious grounds. He said that slavery embittered the feelings and hardened the heart:

"He who finds himself plundered from his birth, of his liberty and his labor—his only inheritance—becomes selfish, reckless, and regardless of everything save the immediate gratification of the present moment. Plundered of everything himself, he is ready to plunder in his turn, even his brothers in misfortune."²¹

The orthodox doctrine, he said, which slaveholders preached to their slaves, the slaves received with an outward submission, to which their hearts gave the lie:

"Alas Christianity! What does it avail,—thy concern for the poor,—thy tenderness for the oppressed,—thy system of fraternal love and affection. . . . The tyrants of every age and country, have succeeded in prostituting Christianity into an instrument of their crimes, a terror to their victims, and an apology for their oppressions."²²

The author also made a severe arraignment of Northern States for delivering into the hands of the slaveholder every miserable fugitive who took refuge within their territory. The slaves in this story, unlike those in most anti-slavery novels—*Uncle Tom's Cabin* not excepted—did not hesitate to resist actively ill-treatment at the hands of persons placed over them. This was best illustrated in the case of Thomas, a slave who promptly interfered when his wife was whipped without cause by an overseer. He later murdered the overseer because he was convinced that her death was due to his cruelty.

Probably no single incident during this period provoked more bitter resentment from the abolitionists than the effort made in 1842 to return to the South a fugitive slave named George Latimer. Latimer was seized in Boston at the request of James B. Grey, of Norfolk, Virginia, who claimed

²⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 115.

²¹ *Ibid.*, I, 68.

²² *Ibid.*, 114.

him as his property. The incident caused great excitement in the North and the South. Through the efforts of the abolitionists Grey was forced to surrender his rights to Latimer for four hundred dollars in cash, and Latimer was given free papers. It was this incident which called forth Whittier's well known poem entitled *Massachusetts to Virginia*, written in December, 1842.²³ In 1843 there was published in Boston a poem entitled *The Virginia Philosopher*, the author of which styled himself "Mr. Latimer's Brother." His purpose was to censure the persons and their abettors who were engaged in the business of re-enslaving George Latimer after he had obtained freedom for himself and family by a successful flight.²⁴ The greater part of the poem the author wrote in the form of a conversation, between himself and a phantom, in which the pro-slavery statesmen and clergymen were the chief objects of attack. He bemoaned the fact that the blaze of his country's glory in the days gone by had become "quench'd, debased, degraded," but was confident that slavery would be abolished:

"The good and wise of every land
Are leaguings in resistless band,
And God himself hath given command,
And devils must comply."²⁵

It was very probably this same incident which led Theodore Parker in 1843 to make a more severe attack upon Northern sympathizers with slaveholders who attempted to remand fugitives to slavery, in a satirical work called "Socrates in Boston: A Dialogue between the Philosopher and a Yankee." Here Socrates returned to earth and conversed with Jonathan, a Yankee, who sympathized with the slaveholders. The anger of Socrates was aroused by the presence in Boston of a planter in search of his fugitive slave. Socrates apologized for being a heathen who knew nothing of religion and righteousness, and asked Jonathan to teach him the improvements of the last two thousand years. In reply

²³ See below, p. 436.

²⁴ *The Virginia Philosopher*, p. 3.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

he was told that right law was the opinion of men able to enforce their opinions; that it was synonymous with justice; and that Christianity consisted in *doctrines* more than in actions. The most important of these doctrines were: read the Bible, observe the Sabbath, attend church, and love the Lord. Socrates forced Jonathan to admit that Christianity also bade one to repent of what was wrong, and taught love of man; but that slavery neither made men wiser nor protected the honor of women and the self-respect of men. "Now," said Socrates, "if the Christian slave love God for his goodness, I see not but he must hate his master for his badness. And since, as you say, 'all men are born free and equal,' slavery is no ordinance of God's goodness, but of man's badness, and therefore avoidable. So the slave has just the same *Christian* right to butcher his master, that your brave fathers had to butcher their tyrants. Still more—to command a man to be a slave is contrary to love of man, and not a Christian command, and therefore is not to be obeyed."²⁶ Jonathan was made to admit also that masters took no pains to teach their slaves either wisdom or goodness, and still less Christianity; that they degraded the slave in all the qualities of a man, and promoted in him those of a beast; that they were not themselves improved in morals or religion, but were benefited only in the acquirement of wealth. The sketch was closed with the following soliloquy by Socrates:

"Have two thousand years and more gone by, since my time? I heard of Christianity when Paul came to Mars Hill, and blessed his manly heart—as I lay in my grave. This cannot be real. Slavery in a free land; defended in a Christian land; by men that do not *own* slaves! This must be all a dream! Let me pray my old prayer. Oh, thou great One! give me a Mind to see the Truth; a Conscience to discern the Right; a Heart full of Love; A Soul of Faith, and a blameless Life."²⁷

The two most bitter anti-slavery plays of the period, *The Branded Hand* (1845), by Mrs. Sophia L. Little, and *Warren: A Tragedy* (1850), attributed to Daniel S. Whitney,

²⁶ Parker, "Socrates in Boston," in the *Liberty Bell* (ed. 1843), pp. 136-137.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

were also called forth by the Latimer case and other cases similar to it.

In *The Branded Hand*, Philander, the hero, was a devoutly religious man who was placed in the pillory and branded in the right hand for assisting slaves to escape to freedom. At the prison, before the time appointed for his punishment, he saw in a vision a crown suspended from the cross and heard a voice urging him to wear the crown. He promised to remain firm in his faith in God. At the scene of the pillory a bystander made a remark concerning the indebtedness of the slaveholder to the church and clergy for the stand they had taken for slavery, holding them responsible for the suffering of the victim in the pillory. Inquiring of another bystander, of pro-slavery sympathies, whether this affair would create much excitement at the North, he received the following reply:

"No. The North does not care, so we help fill her purse, how many of her sons we imprison and brand. All the North wants is riches and luxury. There's a great deal of talk there, but it means nothing."²⁸

After the branding the victim was conveyed back to prison where the vision reappeared to him, informing him that he had won the crown. The play was closed with the following speech by the slaveholder, who saw before him the branded hand, and who was given to understand that he would be tormented forever unless he repented:

"Then will headlong rush
From pleasure on to pleasure madly on:
I cannot yield this will of mine: 'tis strong
And up in arms against Omnipotence.
Stay, I may be deluded by a dream,
Do not God's ministers for slavery plead,
And prove it holy from the sacred text?
Sleep then, Oh, foolish conscience, sleep again!
The anthems of a thousand churches lull thee."²⁹

In *Warren: A Tragedy*, Joseph Warren, a free Negro citizen of Charlestown, Massachusetts, and the grandson of Warren

²⁸ Little, *The Branded Hand*, p. 40.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46.

who fell at Bunker Hill, arrived in Charleston, South Carolina, on business just after a law had been enacted there, of which he was ignorant, "designed to rid the state of all free persons of African descent." He was accordingly seized and imprisoned by some of the prominent citizens of Charleston and told that if he could find any responsible white man to give bonds in a sufficient sum to take him out of the state immediately and pay the expense of his imprisonment, he would be discharged. Warren wrote to William Lloyd Garrison and John Quincy Adams for aid, but the letters were intercepted by the persons who imprisoned him, and he was sold at auction for \$150 to a deacon of the church. Later he was committed to the charge of the Reverend Dr. Smythe, who was instructed to use whatever means necessary to insure Warren's obedience. Smythe, discovering Warren's independence of spirit, ordered that he be given fifty lashes, and proceeded with administering the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Warren took the punishment without flinching, at the same time praying for his deliverance and for his enemies. After the communion service, Smythe, impatient with Warren's attitude, ordered such cruel torture that Warren died shortly afterwards. Then after giving orders for his burial, Dr. Smythe proceeded with evening prayers. The author's satire was directed against the religion of Dr. Smythe, whose favorite argument in support of slavery was the one frequently found in the works of pro-slavery writers: namely, that the descendants of Ham were condemned by God to perpetual servitude. Slaves, said Dr. Smythe, "are dependent upon their more enlightened brethren for care and those directions needful to supply their wants; and, of course, the pittance of service which they are able to render ought freely to be rendered, seeing it is impossible for them to discharge a tithe of the obligation that they are under to their masters and mistresses for their care and attention." When asked by one of the slaves at a Christmas service to explain the biblical passage "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them," Dr.

Smythe replied: "Well, Sampsey, I am sorry that anybody should read to servants those portions of the Word of God that are above their comprehension; but as you have heard it, and it troubles your weak mind, I will do what I can to set your mind at rest on the subject. If it had pleased God, Sampsey, to make you a white man, and give you black slaves, why, you would wish them to be obedient and industrious, and honest, would you not, Sampsey?" To Sampsey's reply in the affirmative, Dr. Smythe continued: "Well, then, Sampsey, as it has pleased God to make you a black slave, he expects you to be faithful to your master, industrious, honest and contented." Sampsey, however, seemed to have little faith in Dr. Smythe's interpretation of the Scriptures, for after the services, in a conversation with his chum Billy, he told Billy to "tink of freedom as sure in heaven, and . . . if you get a chance, old Billy, take it on earth, and be sure that God will one day make de lying preacher smart in his own brimstone, for de false reading ob his holy word."³⁰

One other work belonging to this group demands special attention not only because of the strength of its appeal as a religious argument against slavery, but also because its author, Harriet Beecher Stowe, revealed here the same spirit which a little later was to characterize her *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, the most powerful anti-slavery book in American literature. On August 1, 1850, Mrs. Stowe published in the *National Era* a sketch entitled "The Freedman's Dream: A Parable," in which she opposed slavery on religious principles. It was written shortly before the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 became a law; at a time when, as already noted, the right of slaveholders to remand to slavery fugitives seized in the free states was being vigorously contested by many persons of the North. In this sketch a planter refused to give protection to a fugitive slave and his family and allowed them to be seized by their pursuers. In the planter's dream the sky grew dark and the heavens flashed with light. He was borne

³⁰ Warren: *A Tragedy*, p. 46.

aloft and driven before the bar of the mighty Judge. The author said:

“Then an awful voice pierced his soul, saying—‘Depart from me ye accursed! for I was an hungered, and ye gave me no meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink; I was a stranger, and ye took me not in.’ And, terrified and subdued, the man made answer, ‘Lord, where?’ And immediately rose before him these poor fugitive slaves, whom he had spurned from his door; and the Judge made answer—‘Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these my brethren, ye did it not to me.’ And with that, terrified and affrighted, the man awoke.”³¹

The author then drew her moral:

“Of late, there have seemed to be many in this nation, who seem to think that there is no standard of right and wrong higher than an act of Congress, or an interpretation of the United States Constitution. It is humiliating to think that there should be in the church of Christ men and ministers who should need to be reminded that the laws of their Master are above human laws which come in conflict with them; and that though heaven and earth pass away, His word shall not pass away.”³¹

II. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ARGUMENTS

Many writers of this period, considering slavery in its relation to the practical problem of earning a livelihood, concluded that its abolition was a social and economic necessity. Arguments based upon these grounds dealt, for the most part, with the effect of slavery upon the growth of population and industry and upon living conditions generally.

The slow rate at which the white population of the South increased, as compared with the rapid growth of the slave population, made it necessary that slavery should be abolished. Theodore Parker called attention to the fact that in New England, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania between 1790 and 1840 the increase in the number of people was 243 per cent; whereas in Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Kentucky,

³¹ Stowe, “The Freedman’s Dream: A Parable,” in the *National Era*, August 1, 1850.

during the same period, the increase was only 179 per cent.³² This condition he attributed to slavery. Whittier did likewise and pointed with pride to the fact that the entire population of the North with few exceptions, were working men and women.³³

It was also argued that industry did not thrive in the slave states, and statistics were furnished to show the extent to which the North had surpassed the South in the number of inventions, tonnage of shipping, and annual earnings. In 1846 there was granted by the national office for inventions made in the slave states one patent for each 96,505 persons; whereas in the same year in the free states there was granted one patent for every 17,249 persons.³⁴ In 1846 the single port of New York had 70,939 more tons of shipping than all the Southern States combined, and in 1839 the annual earnings of the state of New York were more than \$4,000,000 greater than those of six slave states.³⁵

The impoverished condition of the poor whites of the South was also attributed to slavery. The vast amount of money necessary for supplying a plantation with slaves had a tendency to place the agriculture of a slaveholding community in the hands of the wealthy, thus working a hardship upon the non-slaveholders.³⁶ While traveling through the South in 1849, William Cullen Bryant noticed the wretched condition in which the poor white people lived—a condition due to their having no manual occupation provided for them from which they did not “shrink as disgraceful, on account of its being the occupation of slaves”; and he noticed in

³² Parker, *A Letter to the People of the United States Touching the Matter of Slavery* (1848), p. 58.

³³ Whittier, “The Abolitionists; Their Sentiments and Objects” (1833), in *Prose Works*, III, 68-69.

³⁴ Parker, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 51, 52, 56. The six slave states were North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana.

³⁶ Whittier, “Justice and Expediency” (1838), in *Prose Works*, III, 44; Walt Whitman, “American Workingmen Versus Slavery” (1847), in *The Uncollected Poetry and Prose of Walt Whitman*, ed. Holloway, I, 171-172.

some of their faces "that look of mingled distrust and dejection which often accompanies the condition of extreme, hopeless poverty."³⁷

III. SENTIMENTAL ARGUMENTS

A great deal of anti-slavery feeling in the literature of this period was based upon sentimental grounds. This form of opposition to slavery, ranging from the mildest expressions of sympathy for the slave to very bitter invectives against slaveholders and their abettors, served to re-enforce the more intellectual types of argument and to make more numerous the converts to the cause of abolition. Like the moral and religious arguments of this period, these appeals were of two classes: (1) those written solely to oppose slavery, without any effort to create prejudice against Southerners,³⁸ and (2) those which showed clearly a spirit of defiance toward slaveholders and their Northern sympathizers and expressed frequently a willingness on the part

³⁷ Bryant, *Letters of a Traveller; or, Notes of Things Seen in Europe and America* (ed. 1851), pp. 346-347.

³⁸ Among the many poems in this group that cannot be given more than the briefest mention here are the following: "To Earth" (1848), by J. Bayard Taylor, in the *Liberty Bell* (1848), pp. 51-53; "Ode," by N. P. Willis, in the *Pennsylvania Freeman*, August 22, 1839; "The Fugitives' Hymn," by T. Wentworth Higginson, in the *Liberty Bell* (1848), pp. 94-96; "An Appeal for the Slave," in the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, II, 3rd Ser., 198, May, 1832; "Letter from an Infant Slave to the Child of its Mistress" and "The White Infant's Reply to the Little Slave," in the *Abolitionist, or Record of the New England Anti-Slavery Society*, I, No. II, 32, 48, February-March, 1833; *An Address* (1835), by Daniel G. Colesworthy; "Prayer for the Slave" (1842), by John Pierpont, in *Anti-Slavery Poems* (ed. 1843), pp. 58-59; "The Mother's Prayer" (1843), by Thomas Hill, in *Christmas, and Poems on Slavery for Christmas, 1843*, pp. 5-7; "The Slave's Musings" (1847), in *Poems, Original and Selected*, ed. D. M. Bennison, pp. 84-85; "Prayer for the Oppressed" and "Liberty Song" by George Thompson, in the *Prison Bard, or Poems on Various Subjects* (1848), pp. 63, 83, 85; *Niagara* (1848), by C. H. A. Bulkley; and the following poems in the *Poetical Works of Elizabeth Margaret Chandler* (1836): "The Afric's Dream," pp. 50-51; "The Kneeling Slave," p. 59; "What is a Slave Mother?" pp. 70-71; "The Enfranchised Slaves to their Benefactress," p. 73; "The Sold," pp. 99-100; "An Appeal for the Oppressed," pp. 114-115; "The Slave Mother's Farewell," pp. 122-123; and "The Slave Ship," p. 136.

of their authors to resort to violence, if necessary, in order to insure the destruction of slavery.

James Russell Lowell's opposition to slavery during this period found expression chiefly through sentimental appeals of the first group. As early as 1838 he was sufficiently interested in the subject of slavery to devote several lines to it in his *Class Poem*, but his attitude at that time was quite different from what it was a few years later. In this poem he referred to the abolitionists as "canting fanatics" who exaggerated the tortures of the slave and made war on the North for the ills the South had made.³⁹ He made a plea for the Indian and asked why the abolitionists had overlooked his wants. By 1843, however, his views had changed considerably. He himself said that his abolitionism began in 1840, the year of his engagement to Miss Maria White, whom he married in 1844. Miss White's pronounced sympathy for the slave very probably had much to do with Lowell's increased interest in the cause of abolition. In 1843 he wrote a poem to be sung at the Anti-Slavery Picnic in Dedham, on the anniversary of West Indian Emancipation. Here he maintained that no man was free who would not strive to free the slave:

"Men! whose boast it is that ye
Come of fathers brave and free,
If there breathe on earth a slave
Are ye truly free and brave?
If ye do not feel the chain,
When it works a brother's pain,
Are ye not base slaves indeed,
Slaves unworthy to be freed?
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"They are slaves who fear to speak
For the fallen and the weak;
They are slaves who will not choose
Hatred, scoffing, and abuse,
Rather than in silence shrink
From the truth they needs must think;
They are slaves who dare not be
In the right with two or three."⁴⁰

³⁹ Lowell, *Class Poem*, p. 22.

⁴⁰ Lowell, "Stanzas on Freedom," in *Poetical Works*, p. 56.

From this time on Lowell played an increasingly active part in the abolition movement. Early in 1845 he became a regular contributor to the *Pennsylvania Freeman* and in 1848 corresponding editor of the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*. In both of these papers appeared many of his anti-slavery writings. In the *Standard* he published the last four numbers of *The Biglow Papers*, the first five having already appeared in the *Boston Courier* between June, 1846, and May, 1848. In *The Biglow Papers* he protested vigorously against the Mexican War, which he believed was a war of false pretences that would enlarge the boundaries and prolong the life of slavery.⁴¹ Contending that it was begun and prosecuted in the interest of Southern slaveholders, he utilized every opportunity to satirize the slaveholders and their Northern sympathizers:

"They jest want this Californy
So's to lug new slave-states in
To abuse ye, an' to scorn ye,
An' to plunder ye like sin.

" 'Taint by turnin' out to hack folks
You're agoin' to git your right,
Nor by lookin' down on black folks
Coz you're put upon by wite;
Slavery aint o' nary color,
'Taint the hide thet makes it wus,
All it keers fer in a feller
'S jest to make him fill its pus.

"Massachusetts, God forgive her,
She's akneelin' with the rest,
She, thet ough' to he' clung forever
In her grand old eagle-nest;
She thet ough' to stand so fearless
Wile the wracks are round her hurled,
Holdin' up a beacon peerless
To the oppressed of all the world!"⁴²

⁴¹ In December, 1844, when efforts were being made to annex Texas to the Union, a movement generally regarded as aiming at the enlarging of slave territory, Lowell had written "The Present Crisis," another well known anti-slavery poem.

⁴² Lowell, "The Biglow Papers," 1st Ser., No. I, in *Poetical Works*, p. 174.

The Biglow Papers were an immediate success⁴³ and helped greatly in unifying public opinion in the North. They "turned the tables," said Lowell's biographer, "and put Anti-slavery, which had been fighting sturdily on foot with pikes, into the saddle, and gave it a flashing sabre."⁴⁴ Lowell was so greatly concerned over the attitude of America toward the question of slavery that in 1845 he gave warning of the calamity that would inevitably accompany emancipation unless this attitude changed fundamentally:

"Out of the land of bondage 'tis decreed our slaves shall go,
And signs to us are offered, as erst to Pharaoh;
If we are blind, their exodus, like Israel's of yore,
Through a Red Sea is doomed to be, whose surges are of gore."⁴⁵

This same fear had been expressed shortly before by both Longfellow and Garrison. In "The Warning" (1842) Longfellow, relating the story of the death of Samson, who,

"Destroyed himself, and with him those who made
A cruel mockery of his sightless woe,

compared Samson to the African slave, of whom he urged his countrymen to beware:

"There is a poor, blind Samson in this land,
Shorn of his strength and bound in bonds of steel,
Who may, in some grim revel, raise his hand,
And shake the pillars of this Common-weal,
Till the vast Temple of our liberties
A shapeless mass of wreck and rubbish lies."⁴⁶

Garrison also was convinced that the day of the slave's deliverance was not far distant and that it would be accompanied by great distress:

"Wo if it come with storm, and blood, and fire,
When midnight darkness veils the earth and sky!
Wo to the innocent babe—the guilty sire—
Mother and daughter—friends of kindred tie!

⁴³ The first edition of fifteen hundred copies was sold in one week after the publication of the poem in book form.

⁴⁴ H. E. Scudder, *James Russell Lowell*, I, 265.

⁴⁵ Lowell, "On the Capture of Fugitive Slaves Near Washington," in *Poetical Works*, p. 83.

⁴⁶ Longfellow "Poems on Slavery," in *Poetical Works*, p. 45.

Stranger and citizen alike shall die!
 Red-handed Slaughter his revenge shall feed,
 And Havoc yell his ominous death-cry,
 And wild Despair in vain for mercy plead—
 While Hell itself shall shrink, and sicken at the deed!"⁴⁷

Of the sentimental appeals of the second group—those intended primarily to arouse sectional feeling—W. H. Burleigh's poem entitled "A Word to the South" and Whittier's "Massachusetts to Virginia" were the best examples.⁴⁸ Burleigh's poem was written in October, 1835, at a time when pro-slavery meetings in the North were frequent and when hostility towards the abolitionists was growing rapidly. It was originally published in the *Liberator* shortly after a mob in Boston had dispersed a meeting of the Female Anti-Slavery Society and attacked Garrison with such violence that the city authorities could protect him only within the walls of a jail.⁴⁹ The following stanzas were taken from the poem:

"Let the storm come! A cry for blood hath gone
 Out on the winds of heaven! The *chivalrous* South
 Calls on the North to render up her sons—
 To sacrifice her worthiest, and appease
 The *holy* wrath of those who rob their God;
 And the pale North hath bowed, and kissed the foot
 Of her imperious master!

"Ho!—the chain!
 Fetter the press! put out the light of truth!
 Hang the disseverers of our sacred bond!
 Go, mocker! chain the unfettered winds, which sweep
 Over your fervid plains, freighted with groans
 From the down-trodden
 Fetter the swelling ocean, that its waves
 Shall slumber, hushed and tranquil; with a nod
 Turn the sun backward from his path of light;

⁴⁷ Garrison, "Universal Emancipation," in *Sonnets and Other Poems* (ed. 1843), pp. 9-11.

⁴⁸ Another poem belonging to this group, though less defiant than Burleigh's and Whittier's, was Elizabeth Margaret Chandler's "The Recaptured Slave," found in her *Poetical Works* (1836), pp. 93-95, in which the slave, having for a short time enjoyed freedom, vowed never again to "wear the chains of bondage."

⁴⁹ Burleigh, *Poems*, p. 86.

Quench the rejoicing stars, and blot the moon
 From the fair page of heaven; *then* turn and throw
 Your manacles on mind—and fetter speech,
 And thought, and action; and with dreadless hand
 Hurl the Eternal from his throne, and seize
 The sceptre of the Universe! and then,
 When God is God no longer, *we* will fear,
 And, cringing, do your bidding. *Not till then.*

“*Let the storm come! It beat with fiercer rage
 When cried the multitude, with maniac shout,
 ‘Let Him be crucified!’ Ye war with God!
 Impious and unbelieving! He hath bared
 His right arm for the battle, and hath thrown
 His buckler over us—and every wound,
 And every outrage which we suffer now,
 In the hot conflict for the Right, shall be
 A token and a pledge of victory!*”⁵⁰

Whittier’s “Massachusetts to Virginia” (1842) was occasioned by the attempt on the part of James B. Grey, of Norfolk, to re-enslave George Latimer. The poet began by disavowing any intention of inciting warfare between the two sections, yet Massachusetts, he said, did not fear Virginia’s threats. He reminded Virginia of the days when she with Massachusetts strove for and achieved liberty; but informed her that on the question of slavery she need not look for sympathy from Massachusetts:

“We hunt your bondmen flying from slavery’s hateful hell;
 Our voices, at your bidding, take up the bloodhound’s yell;
 We gather, at your summons, above our fathers’ graves,
 From Freedom’s holy altar-horns to tear your wretched slaves!

“We wage no war, we lift no arm, we fling no torch within
 The fire-damps of the quaking mine beneath your soil of sin;
 We leave ye with your bondmen, to wrestle, while ye can,
 With the strong upward tendencies and Godlike soul of man!

“But for us and for our children, the vow which we have given
 For freedom and humanity is registered in heaven;
 No slave-hunt in our borders,—no pirate on our strand!
 No fetters in the Bay State,—no slave upon our land!”⁵¹

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 87-88.

⁵¹ Whittier, *Poetical Works*, III, 86.

IV. PLANS FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVE

Here, as in the preceding periods, there were advocates of both gradual and immediate emancipation. Even though converts to the latter increased throughout the period with startling rapidity, chiefly because of the work of Garrison and his followers, gradual abolition, nevertheless, still retained prominent advocates. Their attitude was due largely to the belief that sudden emancipation would work too great a hardship upon both the master and the slave. By some, emancipation was considered not a question of constitutional right, but rather one of expediency. James Fenimore Cooper said that slavery could be legally abolished by amending the Constitution; but that it would be madness for Congress to propose such an amendment, because it would "infal-libly fail, thereby raising an irritating question without object."⁵² To the citizen of the non-slaveholding state, slavery he said, offered little more than a question of abstract principles; whereas to the Southerner it offered a question of the "highest practical importance, and one that, mis-man-aged, might entirely subvert the order of his social organization."⁵³ W. E. Channing also advocated gradual emancipation. He contended that sudden emancipation would be cruelty, not kindness, to the slave, because he was unprepared to understand or to enjoy it. He thought that the state should first furnish him a guardian, not an owner, to supply the lack of that discretion which he had not attained. He also suggested, as another means of raising the slave and fitting him to act from higher motives than compulsion, the introduction of a system of bounties and rewards.⁵⁴ He said that the plan of the Colonization Society to remove slavery by "draining" it off to another country was about as "reasonable as that of draining the Atlantic."⁵⁵

The advocates of immediate emancipation during this

⁵² Cooper, "On American Slavery," in the *American Democrat* (1838), pp. 175-176.

⁵³ Cooper, "On Slavery in the District of Columbia," in *ibid.*, p. 178.

⁵⁴ Channing, "Slavery" (1835), in *Works*, p. 727.

⁵⁵ Channing, "Remarks on the Slavery Question," in *ibid.*, p. 784.

period suggested a variety of methods whereby the slaves might be freed. The poet Whittier, in 1833, criticized severely the Colonization Society, calling attention to the fact that during the period of its existence nearly one million human beings had died in slavery, and the number of slaves had increased more than a half a million.⁵⁶ He advocated immediate abolition as the only practicable scheme of emancipation and wished that it might be attained "not with the weapons of violence and blood, but with those of reason and truth, prayer to God, and entreaty to man."⁵⁷ He would begin with the District of Columbia and with what were at that time (1833) the territories of Florida and Arkansas, all of which came under the direct jurisdiction of the general government. He believed that if the government did not take the initiative in this matter, the slave sooner or later would become conscious of his "brute strength, his physical superiority," and cause serious trouble.⁵⁸ Contending that immediate abolition was a safe, just, and peaceful remedy for the evils of the slave system,⁵⁹ he showed that in no instance in the past had immediate emancipation been attended with violence and disorder on the part of the emancipated.⁶⁰ James Freeman Clarke urged that only those slaves able to care for themselves—and he thought that these were in the majority—be emancipated immediately; but he offered no definite plan whereby this might be done.⁶¹

Two authors writing anonymously in the *National Era* during this period were more specific than Clarke. They favored the method that Great Britain had employed in emancipating her slaves. The first suggested that the federal government, with the consent of the slaveholding states, pay the owners \$500,000,000 for the three million slaves. To

⁵⁶ Whittier, "Justice and Expediency," in *Prose Works*, III, 15.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 33.

⁵⁹ This argument was used also in an anonymous dramatic sketch entitled "Duty and Safety of Emancipation" (1842), in the *Monthly Offering* (ed. John A. Collins), pp. 106-110.

⁶⁰ Whittier, *op. cit.*, 35.

⁶¹ Clarke, *Slavery in the United States* (1843), p. 24.

meet the expenses of such a plan he suggested that there be maintained such a rate of duties upon importations as would produce the greatest possible revenue.⁶² The plan of the second writer provided that owners of slaves should receive from the state an equivalent of half the value of the slaves. Payments could be made by the creation of state stock to be made over to the owners of the slaves and to be paid in five instalments. He said that since the value of real and personal property would be increased by emancipation, the expenses of such a plan could be met by a proportionate increase in the taxes on such property.⁶³

This period from 1831 to 1850 might, therefore, be termed the first stage in the growth of the new abolition movement which had been initiated by Garrison and which was to reach its maturity in 1861 with the outbreak of hostilities. In the South anti-slavery sentiment rapidly declined during this period; whereas in the North, confined to narrower limits than formerly, it enjoyed a steady growth, despite the opposition which came not only from the South, which was fast becoming solidly pro-slavery, but also from the pro-slavery North. Indeed, most of the anti-slavery literature of the period was written with a view to converting the North to the cause of abolition. The breach between the abolitionists and the slaveholders was being further widened by the efforts of the abolitionists to aid fugitive slaves in escaping from their owners. The chief anti-slavery arguments appearing in the literature of the period were based upon moral, religious, social, economic, and sentimental grounds, and found utterance in all of the popular literary forms of the time. Advocates of colonization and gradual emancipation were still to be found, but they were less conspicuous than those of immediatism.

⁶² "A Plan for the Abolition of Slavery," by a North Carolinian, in the *National Era*, April 27, 1847.

⁶³ See the *National Era*, May 10, 1849.

CHAPTER IV

THE SECOND PERIOD OF MILITANT ABOLITIONISM (1850-1861)

The second stage of militant abolitionism extended from 1850 to 1861. Opposition to slavery as revealed in the literature of America during this period was greater and more effective than ever before in the history of the abolition movement. It found expression in all the literary forms of the period, and became a powerful means of converting thousands of people of the North to the cause of abolition; while it also served to intensify the feeling of the South against abolition, and thus to make all the more difficult any peaceable solution of the problem. The passage of the Fugitive Slave Act on September 18, 1850, and the subsequent attempts to enforce it revealed slavery in one of its worst forms and called forth most of the anti-slavery productions of the period. The real effect of this Act upon the anti-slavery movement in America, said Mr. Edward Channing, "was not so much the increase or diminution of running away from the Slave States or the increase of the free negro colony in Canada, or the spectacular events that are associated with fugitive slave cases; it was that these things put together converted hundreds of thousands of people of the North from a position of indifference or of hostility to abolition to a position of hostility towards the slave power. It induced hundreds of thousands of voters, who cared very little whether the negro was a slave or a free man, to use all means at their disposal to stop the further extension of slavery and put an end to it whenever they could, constitutionally."¹ Of the many arguments used against slavery at this time, those based upon moral, religious, and sentimental grounds were the most numerous, and, by the very nature of their appeal, were capable of influencing the greatest number of people; yet strong pleas for the abolition

¹ Channing, *A History of the United States*, VI, 103.

of slavery as a social, economic, and political necessity were not wanting.

I. MORAL AND RELIGIOUS ARGUMENTS

The extraordinary growth of the moral and religious movement against slavery between 1850 and 1861 must be attributed largely to the passage of and the attempt to put into execution the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. The abolitionists instantly resented this law and supported most of their arguments by references to its injustice. One of the first to do this was the poet Whittier. In a poem entitled "A Sabbath Scene" (1850), he attacked Northern clergymen who were urging the prompt execution of the law as a Christian duty. After describing vividly a female fugitive seeking refuge in a church, the pastor of which assisted her pursuer in binding her hands and feet, the poet wrote:

"My brain took fire: 'Is this,' I cried,
 'The end of prayer and preaching?
 Then down with pulpit, down with priest,
 And give us Nature's teaching!
" 'For shame and scorn be on ye all
 Who turn the good to evil,
 And steal the Bible from the Lord,
 To give it to the Devil!'"²

The first really significant reaction to this law, however, was Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which first appeared in the *National Era*, Washington, D.C., between June 5, 1851, and April 1, 1852, and which became the most popular and effective of the anti-slavery literary productions. The author said that for many years of her life she had avoided all reading upon or allusion to the subject of slavery, "considering it as too painful to be inquired into, and one which advancing light and civilization would certainly live down"; but when she heard, "with perfect surprise and consternation, Christian and humane people actually recommending the remanding escaped fugitives into slavery, as a duty binding on good citizens," she realized the

² Whittier, *Poetical Works*, III, 162.

necessity of exhibiting slavery in its true light, of showing it "fairly, in its best and its worst phases."³ In *Uncle Tom's Cabin* she not only brought together in a most effective way all of the important arguments against slavery which had appeared in the literature before her time, but by her skilful employment of numerous narrative devices for making her story convincing, she supplied her successors in the anti-slavery novel with the best methods of attacking slavery. Whether she was describing the comforts and pleasures of slave life, such as were made possible by the generosity of a Mrs. Shelby and a St. Clare, or the worst side of that life, as exemplified in Haley, Legree, and the other villainous characters, her argument never lost its forcefulness. Slavery in no form, she contended, was justifiable. There were ten chances of a slave's finding an abusive and tyrannical master, to one of his finding a considerate and kind one;⁴ and even when he chanced to be sold to a kind master, either the loss of the master's fortune, as in the case of Mr. Shelby, or his death, as in that of St. Clare, usually rendered the slave's condition even more wretched than it could have been had he never enjoyed kindly treatment. The action of the Shelseys in disposing of Tom was intended to show that the most humane and generous slaveholders were powerless to protect their favorite slave when economic pressure was brought upon them.

Numerous instances were cited in this novel of the detrimental effect of slavery from a moral and religious point of view. When Mr. Shelby reported that Tom and Eliza's boy were to be sold,

"Mrs. Shelby stood like one stricken. Finally, turning to her toilet, she rested her face in her hands, and gave a sort of groan.

" 'This is God's curse on slavery—a bitter, bitter, most accursed thing—a curse to the master and a curse to the slave! I was a fool to think I could make anything good out of such a deadly evil. It is a sin to hold a slave under laws like ours—I always thought so when I was a girl—I thought so still more after I joined the church; but I thought I could gild it over—I thought by kindness, and care,

³ Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (ed. 1852), II, 314.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 144.

and instruction, I could make the condition of mine better than freedom—fool that I was!”⁵

In a conversation with Miss Ophelia, St. Clare contended that slavery was more detrimental morally to the master than to the slave:

“It takes no spectacles to see that a great class of vicious, improvident, degraded people among us, are an evil to us, as well as to themselves. . . . They are in our houses, they are the associates of our children, and they form their minds faster than we can; for they are a race that children always will cling to and assimilate with. If Eva, now, was not more angel than ordinary, she would be ruined. We might as well allow the small-pox to run among them, and think our children would not take it, as to let them be uninstructed and vicious, and think our children will not be affected by that.”⁶

Topsy, before she came into direct contact with Eva; Cassy, before she freed herself from the demoralizing influence of Legree; and Legree himself were but a few of the many products of the slave system. After the death of Eva, St. Clare reflected upon the sin of slavery more seriously than ever before:

“My view of Christianity is such that I think no man can consistently profess it without throwing the whole weight of his being against this monstrous system of injustice that lies at the foundation of all our society, and, if need be, sacrificing himself in the battle. That is, I mean that I could not be a Christian otherwise, though I have certainly had intercourse with a great many enlightened and Christian people who did no such thing; and I confess that the apathy of religious people on this subject, their want of perception of wrong that filled me with horror, have engendered in me more skepticism than any other thing.”⁷

When published in book form *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was an immediate popular success.⁸ On the day of its publication three thousand copies were sold, and, within one year, more than three hundred thousand were sold in this country alone.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 57-58.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 24.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 137.

⁸ For an account of the popularity of the work in this country and abroad see James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States*, I, 278-285, and Florine Thayer McCray, *The Life-Work of the Author of Uncle Tom's Cabin*, pp. 105-123.

In commenting upon the influence of this novel, Mr. Edward Channing said:

“*Uncle Tom’s Cabin* did more than any other one thing to arouse the fears of the Southerners and impel them to fight for independence. On the other hand, the Northern boys who read it in the fifties were among those who voted for Abraham Lincoln in 1860 and followed the flag of the Union from Bull Run to Appomattox. Its influence on the plain people of France and Great Britain was so tremendous that no man possessed of political instinct in either of those countries,—no matter what were his wishes and those of his class,—no ruler of Great Britain or of France could have recognized a Confederacy whose corner-stone rested on the mutilated body of ‘Uncle Tom’.”⁹

In 1852, the same year in which *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* appeared in book form, G. C. Howard, manager of the Museum at Troy, New York, desirous of seeing his daughter Cordelia take the part of Eva, requested George L. Aiken to dramatize the story. Aiken complied and the play was at once a great popular success. There were several other adaptations of Mrs. Stowe’s novel, including one by Mrs. Stowe herself, called *The Christian Slave* (1855), but the Aiken version was the most popular one.¹⁰ When one considers the unprecedented popularity of the novel itself and the suitability of much of the material of the story for dramatic representation, it is not difficult to account for the great popularity of the play. Apart from the necessary changes incident to its passing from novel to play, the work, which covered six acts, was a close following of the original and exhibited practically the same anti-slavery features. The desperate struggles of Eliza and George Harris for their freedom, the cruelties of Loker, Marks, and Legree, the tragic death of Uncle Tom, as well as the more pleasant side of slavery as described at the Shelby and St. Clare homes—all were included, with the addition, for theatrical effectiveness, of a final scene in which, amid gorgeous clouds, little Eva was borne to heaven, while St. Clare and Uncle Tom looked anxiously up to her.

⁹ Channing, *A History of the United States*, VI, 114-115.

¹⁰ Among other persons who dramatized the novel shortly after its appearance were the following: Charles W. Taylor, Clifton W. Tayleure, Mrs. Anna Marble, Mark Lemon and Tom Taylor, H. J. Conway, and Henry E. Stevens.

Mrs. Stowe's own dramatic version of the story, which she published in 1855 and called *The Christian Slave*, was based upon only a portion of the novel. Although George Harris, Loker, and Marks did not appear here at all; and although the auction mart, which formed the first scene of the fifth act in the Aiken version, was omitted, nevertheless the general spirit of the original story and many other of its anti-slavery features were retained. It was written in three acts, the first two of which contained descriptions of the Shelby and St. Clare homes, and the last a description of Legree's cruelty to his slaves.

Remarkable as *Uncle Tom's Cabin* undoubtedly was, it did not complete the labors of its author for the slave; for in two other novels, *Dred* (1856) and *The Minister's Wooing* (1859), she continued her fight for his emancipation. The scene of *Dred* was laid in North Carolina, in the vicinity of the Great Dismal Swamp. Nina Gordon, the mistress of her deceased father's estate, allowed Harry, a mulatto half-brother, whose judgment and business tact qualified him admirably as her adviser and protector, to transact her business. Having discouraged two of her suitors to whom she had thoughtlessly allowed herself to become engaged, Nina discovered that Edward Clayton was the man whom she really loved, and she looked forward with delight to becoming his wife. She did not live to realize her hopes, however, for of the many who subsequently succumbed to the ravages of the cholera, she was among the first. At her death the entire property, including the slaves, passed into the hands of her brother, Tom Gordon, a villain of the worst type. Tom's cruelty forced Harry and his wife, Lisette, to seek refuge in the Great Dismal Swamp, where they were protected by Dred, a mysterious Negro and a religious fanatic who dwelt there. Tom pursued them, and during the encounter which ensued Dred was killed. The minor plot dealt with the activities of John Cripps, a worthless trader, whose neglect of his wife and children was responsible for his wife's death. The cruelty of Cripps and his second wife compelled

Old Tiff, their Negro servant and the only person to whom the children might look for protection, to flee with the children into the Swamp. Here they joined the other fugitives. Clayton furnished the fugitives with money and sent them to the North. Later he bought a large tract of land in Canada, moved thither his servants, and formed a township there. Through Edward Clayton the author exposed many of the injustices of slavery, particularly as they affected the slave. This was done, for example, in Clayton's defense of Milly, who had been beaten badly and shot by a man to whom she had been hired as a servant. Clayton subsequently refused to remain in the practice of law in a state in which no protection was offered the slave. Mrs. Stowe's account of the activities of Tom Gordon, John Cripps, and the other villainous characters revealed much regarding the demoralizing influence of slavery upon both the upper and the lower classes of Southern society. Her attitude toward the religion of the slaveholders and their Northern abettors was probably best expressed by Father Dickson. Addressing a group of Presbyterian ministers, for the most part from the North, he said:

"The church is becoming corrupted. Ministers are drawn into connivance with deadly sin. Children and youth are being ruined by habits of early tyranny. Our land is full of slave-prisons; and the poor trader—no man careth for his soul! Our poor whites are given up to ignorance and licentiousness; and our ministers, like our brother Bonnie, here, begin to defend this evil from the Bible. Brother Calker, here, talks of the Presbyterian Church. Alas! in her skirts is found the blood of poor innocents, and she is willing, for the sake of union, to destroy them for whom Christ died. Brethren, you know not what you do. You enjoy the blessings of living in a land uncursed by any such evils. Your churches, your schools, and all your industrial institutions, are going forward, while ours are going backward; and you do not feel it, because you do not live among us. But take care! One part of the country cannot become demoralized, without, at last, affecting the other. The sin you cherish and strengthen by your indifference, may at last come back in judgments that may visit even you. I pray God to avert it! But, as God is just, I tremble for you and for us!"¹¹

¹¹ Stowe, *Dred*, II, 198. For another effective religious argument made during this period, see Henry Ward Beecher's "American Slavery," an address de-

Shortly after this utterance Father Dickson, by the direction of Tom Gordon, was suspended from a tree in the presence of his wife and children and whipped severely until rescued by Edward Clayton.

In John Brougham's dramatic version of *Dred*¹² (1856), even though the love story of Nina and Clayton received greater proportionate attention than it did in the novel, most of the anti-slavery features of the original story were retained. Nina and Clayton were among the fugitives who sought safety in the Swamp; and Tom Gordon, who pursued them, was killed by Dred. Mrs. Stowe's camp meeting scene, in which Dred figured so significantly and which gave her an opportunity of attacking the evils of slavery through the clergy, was mentioned in the play; but Milly, one of the best drawn of her female Negro characters, and the father and the sister of Clayton did not appear at all. Local color, however, remained, and some few characters were well drawn, notably Old Tiff, who lost none of his pride and honesty.

Mrs. Stowe did not write *The Minister's Wooing* solely to attack slavery; yet through her leading character, Dr. Hopkins, she expressed very strong sentiment against it on religious grounds. Dr. Hopkins became convinced as he reflected upon the evils of the slave system, that he ought to express publicly his condemnation of slavery. In a conversa-

livered in New York on May 6, 1851, before the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. Here he answered the familiar argument of pro-slavery writers that the Bible sanctioned slavery, by showing that slavery among the Hebrews was very different from American slavery. The bond-slaves of the Hebrews could be made only among the heathen; no one could be made a slave from among them until he had been introduced into the privileges of the church; and the master was obliged to give them a religious education. Then there were only five books; and in these every slave had to be educated. If the same regulation should be carried out in America, it would require the Southern slave-owner to send his slave to the academy and then to college. Again, among the Hebrews, if a slave was wronged or abused, he could go into a court and get speedy and sure redress. "Ah!" said he, "if you will only bring American slavery on the platform of Hebrew slavery—if you will give the slave the Bible, and send him to school, and open the doors of the court to him, then we will let it alone—it will take care of itself." See Beecher, *Patriotic Addresses*, p. 184.

¹² C. W. Taylor and H. J. Conway also wrote dramatic versions of this story.

tion with Mrs. Scudder he remarked that the enslaving of Africans was a disgrace to the Protestant religion, and that he could not look upon slaves without feeling as if they were asking him what he, a Christian minister, was doing that he did not come to their aid.¹³ In speaking upon the subject of slavery with Simeon Brown, a wealthy slaveholder and a member of his congregation who refused to be converted to the cause of abolition, he made the following query:

“Did it ever occur to you, my friend, that the enslaving of the African race is a clear violation of the great law which commands us to love our neighbor as ourselves,—and a dishonor upon the Christian religion, more particularly in us Americans, whom the Lord hath so marvelously protected in our recent struggle for our own liberty?”¹⁴

These sentiments were even more vigorously expressed shortly after in a sermon before his congregation. Simeon Brown severed his connection with the Doctor’s church, but the Doctor to the end of his life, said the author, “was the same steady, undiscouraged worker, the same calm witness against popular sins and proclaimer of unpopular truths, ever saying and doing what he saw to be eternally right, without the slightest consultation with worldly expediency or earthly gain.”¹⁵

These novels by Harriet Beecher Stowe, particularly *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, exerted a tremendous influence upon the minor anti-slavery writers of the period, most of whose novels were built upon the same general plan as hers and contained almost the same subject-matter. The separation of husbands from their wives and parents from their children, sometimes because of the financial ruin of the master, but more often for less justifiable reasons; the cruelties of overseers; the hair-breadth escapes of fugitives from their wicked pursuers; the insincerity of pro-slavery clergymen; the demoralizing influence of the slave system as a whole upon the white people of the South, and so forth, were all

¹³ Stowe, *The Minister’s Wooing*, p. 144.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 158-159.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 570.

repeated in these imitations.¹⁶ In *Cousin Franck's Household* (1853), Emily Clemens Pearson, like the author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, condemned the practice among masters of selling certain members of a slave family and retaining others, and emphasized the immoral effect of slavery upon the master and the slave. Because Mrs. Hartley could not endure in her home the presence of certain of her slaves of whom her husband was the father, she compelled Mr. Hartley to dispose of them. "His beautiful wife," said the author, "could not endure the sight of them, because . . . they so much resembled him; and she was always begging him to sell them, or send them off to his Alabama plantation."¹⁷ Although these slaves, through their own ingenuity, eventually secured their freedom, Mr. Hartley's selling them resulted in the tragic death, through grief and insanity, of their slave mother. The whole of Virginia society, the author contended, was degenerating because of slavery. "Virginians," said one of the characters, "have genius enough perhaps, but they are too lazy to exercise it." "If there is no motive for exertion," said another, "what can result but mental barrenness and moral sterility; in a word, social retrograde?"¹⁸ William Wells Brown, a Negro author, published

¹⁶ Two novels by minor writers of the period, *Jamie Parker, the Fugitive* (1851), by Emily Catherine Pierson, and *Thrice Through the Furnace* (1852), by Sophia Louise Little, contained incidents resembling certain ones in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, but probably were not influenced by it. *Jamie Parker* had been published several months before *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was completed; and although *Thrice Through the Furnace* was published after *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, the author in her preface said that it was written before Mrs. Stowe's novel was seen by her or was published. Like *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, both of these novels were written to oppose the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Act. In *Jamie Parker* the suffering and death of Jamie's mother through grief over her son's being falsely accused of theft and sold at auction, the death of Old Scipio, with Jamie at his side reading Scipio's favorite passage from the Scriptures, and Jamie's escape to Canada during the excitement which arose on the plantation when one of the slaves murdered the overseer, were very effectively described. *Thrice Through the Furnace* described the three crises through which three fugitives passed in their flight to Canada. They finally reached their destination through the assistance of a Quaker.

¹⁷ Pearson, *Cousin Franck's Household*, p. 107.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

in London in 1853 an anti-slavery novel entitled *Clotel; or The President's Daughter*, in which he made considerable use of the religious argument. Here a female slave, Currer, had two daughters—Clotel and Althesa—of whom Thomas Jefferson was reported to be the father. At a slave auction the mother and daughters were separated, each being sold to different persons residing in different cities. Concerning the sale of Clotel the feeling of the author was expressed in the following lines:

“ ‘O God! my every heart-string cries,
Dost thou these scenes behold
In this our boasted Christian land,
And must the truth be told?
‘Blush, Christian, blush! for e’en the dark,
Untutored heathen see
Thy inconsistency; and lo!
They scorn thy God, and thee!’ ”¹⁹

Clotel was bought by Horatio Green, of Richmond, Virginia, who became the father of her daughter Mary, but who later married a white girl and went out of Clotel's life. After serving as the slave of several different masters, Clotel, disguised as a slaveholder, escaped to Cincinnati with another slave and thence to Richmond to secure her daughter, who had become the servant of the Greens; but here she was arrested, taken to Washington, and imprisoned with a view to being sent to New Orleans. She escaped, however, and when hotly pursued committed suicide by leaping into the Potomac River. The religious argument here was presented largely through a series of attacks upon the pro-slavery sermons of a missionary, employed on the farm where Currer was a slave, to insure the obedience of the slaves. “You are servants,” said he; “do, therefore, as you would wish to be done by, and you will be both good servants to your masters and good servants to God.”²⁰ He informed them that if they should happen to receive punishment which they did not deserve, they should bear it patiently and be thankful that God was

¹⁹ Brown, *Clotel; or The President's Daughter*, p. 64.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

punishing them in this world rather than in the next. Furthermore, they may have done something bad which was never discovered, and God, who saw everything, would not allow them to escape without punishment.²¹ In a novel called *The Curse Entailed* (1857), by Harriet H. Bigelow, the financial ruin of the master was responsible for the separation of the slaves and would have led to the enslavement of two white children, Edward and Emily LeRux, whose mother had been stolen from her parents when she was a girl and sold as a slave to a planter of Louisiana, had not evidence been produced showing that the mother was white. Just before his death the father of the children described to his son the effect that slavery had had upon the morals of the nation and urged him never to submit to the lash as a slave:

"God will yet have a reckoning with this guilty nation, and right the wrongs of its millions of down-trodden victims. By the passage of the Fugitive Bill to a law, this nation has *sealed* her doom. She has administered to her own vitals the fatal poison of despotism, which now rages through all her system; and the day is not distant when American republican liberty will sleep in the grave of oblivion, or this nation be dissolved to its original individual elements. . . .

"O Edward! I adjure thee, hate American slavery, fight it to your last breath; let not her murderous, overwhelming power strike you with fear; give her no quarter; die if you must, like a freeman, but never submit to the lash as a slave! Slavery has destroyed your father and mother; and, when I am gone, she will struggle to hold you and my noble Emily in her loathsome embrace. But there comes a soothing whisper to my soul, saying, that, as you have not partaken in her sins, God will deliver you from her plagues."²²

There was also in this novel a bitter attack upon pro-slavery clergymen.²³ Another novel containing scenes and incidents

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 96. Two later editions of this novel, less rare than the first or London edition, were published in Boston—one in 1864, entitled *Clotelle: A Tale of the Southern States*, and the other in 1867, entitled *Clotelle; or, The Colored Heroine*. These differed in many respects from the first edition. There was no reference in them to Thomas Jefferson; Currer became Agnes, and her daughters were Isabella and Marion. Clotelle, the heroine, was the daughter of Isabella. For the most part, Isabella's experiences were those of Clotel in the first edition and the experiences of Clotelle resembled those of Mary in the first edition. The last four chapters of the edition of 1867, dealing with the Civil War, did not appear in the first and second editions.

²² Bigelow, *The Curse Entailed*, pp. 348-349.

²³ See pp. 271-272.

resembling certain ones in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was *Liberty or Death; or, Heaven's Infraction of the Fugitive Slave Law* (1859), by Hattie M'Keehan.²⁴ It dealt with a female slave's attempt to escape across the Ohio River with her children and other fugitives. When overtaken she murdered one of her children and would have murdered the others, but was prevented from doing so by her pursuers. Guilty of two charges—violation of the Fugitive Slave Law and the murder of her daughter—she was remanded to slavery in Kentucky on the first charge; and when the Ohio authorities ordered her to be brought there to answer to the second, she was sold by her mistress, Mrs. Nero, into the far South, Louisiana. The author was very severe on pro-slavery clergymen. One of the characters, Mr. Nero, said:

"I scorn the servility of slavery pulpits, the impiety and duplicity of the clergy, who libel heaven and dishonor the God that made them by maintaining that slavery's a divine institution! . . . Whenever pro-slavery divines make out their case, and show that the Bible sanctions the institution, then my reverence for the Supreme Being will prompt me to kick out of door that venerable book.'²⁵

Omitting many of the incidents commonly found in the anti-slavery novels of the period, Elizabeth D. Livermore, in *Zoë; or the Quadroon's Triumph* (1855), made effective use of the moral and religious argument by showing the harmful effect of race prejudice upon a highly sensitive but well-meaning character. Zoë, the heroine of the story and the daughter of a former slave of Santa Cruz, was sent to Denmark to be educated, but was unable to thrive under the environment she found there because of the unsympathetic and prejudiced attitude of her teacher. The attitude of the whites toward her when she returned to Santa Cruz, particularly that of the parents of her dearest friend and classmate,

²⁴ The same story was published at Harrisburg in 1862 and entitled *Liberty or Death! or, The Mother's Sacrifice*, by Mrs. J. P. Hardwick. This later edition, which is exceedingly rare, is in the Library of Congress. The edition of 1859, published at Cincinnati, and equally rare, is in the Harvard College Library.

²⁵ M'Keehan, *Liberty or Death; or, Heaven's Infraction of the Fugitive Slave Law*, p. 31.

Hilda, had an equally disastrous effect upon her sensitive mind. During her leisure moments Zoë had written her views on Negro slavery. These at her death she gave to Hilda to publish and to distribute among her oppressed people. Zoë believed that the slaveholders were in reality less fortunate than the slaves. In a conversation with Hilda she said:

"You cannot think that the unjust are ever happier than the injured, if innocent. If the slaves act as well as their circumstances will allow them, they are very near to 'Our Father,' which of itself is happiness; while the injurer, by his very injustice, shuts out God's presence from his soul, and what misery can be so great as that?"²⁶

When Zoë expressed surprise that Hilda's parents should object to their being friends, Hilda replied,

"I thought you knew, dear, that there is no bottom to the iniquities and absurdities which the system of slavery has entailed upon white people of this island. One is, it has eaten up their souls, leaving them with just about as much capacity of perceiving rightly the eternal truth of things, as my great century doll with Mr. Andersen's spectacles on. . . . I have come to the conclusion, that if some of the other races don't rise to their position and sway among the nations, the world will shrivel all up like an old, dry piece of parchment and blow away into the sea in the next hurricane."²⁷

In commenting upon a conversation between Zoë's mother, Sophia, and an adulteress, the author touched upon the immoral effect of slavery upon slave women:

"Sophia's heart sank within her at the thought of the easy virtue of the women of her people, whom the taint of slavery still infected in the holiest sanctuary of married life, and blasted the hopes with which the truth of loving hearts was plighted."²⁸

In two of the plays of the period, *The Escape; or, A Leap for Freedom* (1858), by William Wells Brown, who had lived in the South for eighteen years, and *Neighbor Jackwood* (1857), by J. T. Trowbridge, the same method as that used by the novelists was evident. The author of *The Escape* humorously satirized the religion and morals of certain slaveholders whom he had had an opportunity of observing while liv-

²⁶ Livermore, *Zoë; or The Quadroon's Triumph*, p. 69.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 244.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

ing in the South. The play described the struggles of three slaves, Glen, his wife Melinda, and Cato, for their freedom, which they finally secured by defeating their pursuers and escaping to Canada. The author also condemned a practice which he had observed among these slaveholders of separating a slave woman from her husband and marrying her to another slave, and described a marriage ceremony, known as "jumping the broomstick," which he said had been adopted in many rural districts of the South by certain slaveholders for their slaves. According to this method a marriage between two slaves was completed when both had jumped over a broomstick and joined hands. Cato had been married in this way to the wife of another slave. The author also satirized the religion of pro-slavery clergymen whom he had known by having the Reverend Mr. Pinchen describe the manner in which he had converted a slave-trader:

"Before he got religion, he was one of the worst men to his niggers I ever saw; his heart was as hard as stone. But religion has made his heart as soft as a piece of cotton. Before I converted him, he would sell husbands from their wives, and seem to take delight in it; but now he won't sell a man from his wife, if he can get any one to buy both of them together. I tell you, sir, religion has done a wonderful work for him."²⁰

Next to the dramatic versions of Harriet Beecher Stowe's novels, *Neighbor Jackwood*, a dramatic version of Trowbridge's own novel of that name, was probably the most effective criticism of the attitude of slaveholders and their Northern sympathizers toward fugitive slaves that appeared on the American stage during this period. It described the kind of treatment *Neighbor Jackwood*, an industrious farmer of Vermont, showed the fugitive slave Camille. When pursued by slave-hunters, Camille hid in Jackwood's haystack during a fierce storm, and was thought drowned. She was rescued by Jackwood and restored to consciousness at the home of the Rukelys, only to be caught again when Enos Crumlett, the conventional Yankee rascal so common in the American drama, reported her whereabouts to the slave-

²⁰ Brown, *The Escape; or, A Leap for Freedom*, pp. 19-20.

hunter. When she was brought to court and her identity was being sworn to by her pursuers, Hector Dunbury, a white man of Vermont whom she had met in the South and grown to love, rushed into the room and rescued her, aided by Jackwood and others, including Enos Crumlett, who had then become one of her staunchest friends. Dunbury, who had gone to New York and found her owner, secured her freedom and then became her husband. The scenes taking place in the home of the Jackwoods, together with those in which Enos Crumlett and Grandmother Rigglesly took part, were quite vividly portrayed. The Fugitive Slave Law was satirized and the evils of slavery in general were emphasized through the experiences of Camille. Unlike most slaves appearing in the American drama, Camille was represented as an intelligent, virtuous girl who would sooner die a slave than win freedom by yielding to one whom she could not love. Through Neighbor Jackwood the author satirized the religion of Mr. Rukely who, rather than oppose the Fugitive Slave Law, allowed Camille to be taken:

"I tell ye what! I respect the laws, and I don't think I'm a bad citizen, gen'ly speakin'. But, come case in hand, a human critter's of more account than all the laws in Christendom. When He was on 'arth, . . . He never stopped to ax whether it was lawful to do a good deed, but went and done it."⁸⁰

Rukely soon admitted that Jackwood was right, for said he:

"I find there is a difference between writing from the head and acting from the heart. . . . How have we talked, and written, and fallen asleep, with our cold dead theories, like the thoughtless world around us! But there is a living soul in that room! We are responsible for her to our Divine Master! We will save her."⁸¹

Hector Dunbury shared Jackwood's views on the subject. In rescuing Camille he said:

"I call upon all to do the duty of men! Dogs! bloodhounds! You mocker of justice, in the form of a judge! hear me. . . . Under an inhuman law [referring to the Fugitive Slave Law], you have hunted down a human soul! It is recorded! . . . As ye have done it unto one of these, ye have done it unto Him!"⁸²

⁸⁰ Trowbridge, *Neighbor Jackwood*, p. 53.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 71.

As anti-slavery propaganda this play was very significant. When first produced in March, 1857, it ran for three weeks and for several years after was popular on the Boston stage.

II. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ARGUMENTS

To even the casual observer during this period a striking contrast was evident between the growing industrial prosperity at the North, where a large variety of industries had been flourishing under a system of free labor, and the opposite state of affairs at the South, where undue emphasis upon the cotton industry had resulted in almost total dependence upon slave labor. By the impartial observer slave labor was considered far more expensive than free labor. Frederick Law Olmsted, whose publications based upon his extended journeys throughout the South were said to constitute "in their own way an indictment against slavery quite as forcible as that of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*,"³³ attributed to slavery the great difference between the value of property and all commercial and industrial prosperity in Virginia and in the neighboring free states. He said that a man forced to labor under the slave system was driven to "indolence, carelessness, and indifference to the results of skill, heedlessness, inconstancy of purpose, improvidence, and extravagance"; whereas precisely the opposite qualities were encouraged and inevitably developed in a man who had to make his living by his labor voluntarily directed.³⁴ Hinton Rowan Helper, a native of North Carolina, in 1857 cited copious statistical facts showing the extent to which the North had surpassed the South in commerce, agriculture, manufactures, arts, sciences, and literature, and contended that this great difference in prosperity was to be attributed solely to slavery.³⁵ On June 4, 1860, in a speech delivered in the United States Senate on the bill for the admission of Kansas to the Union

³³ Jesse Macy, *The Anti-Slavery Crusade* (ed. 1921), p. 137. These publications were *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States* (1856), *A Journey Through Texas* (1857), and *A Journey in the Back Country* (1861).

³⁴ Olmsted, *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States* (1856), pp. 147-148.

³⁵ Helper, *The Impending Crisis of the South: How to Meet It*.

as a free state, Senator Charles Sumner used a forceful economic argument against slavery by showing that even though the South had the advantage over the North in size, happiness of climate, natural highways, exhaustless motive power distributed throughout its space, and in navigable rivers, nevertheless, because of slavery, it was far inferior to the North in agriculture, manufactures, commerce, growth of population, value of property, and in educational establishments.³⁶ Another writer contended that the amount of cotton produced by slave labor was less than one-third of what it would have been under a system of free labor, and that with the latter there would no longer be such "thriftlessness, desolation, and debasement" as then existed in the South; but that the colored man would be of increased value to the country; the poor whites of the South would have an incentive to work without their energies being paralyzed by laws framed exclusively for the benefit of the slaveholder; and a large portion of the white population of the North would migrate to the South to add to the general improvement.³⁷

With these social and economic disadvantages of slavery there were frequently combined political disadvantages. Attention was called to the alarming extent to which the small slaveholding minority controlled almost every means offered the large non-slaveholding class in the South of earning a livelihood and of enjoying certain other rights.³⁸ It was estimated that out of nine million Southern white people in 1860, a body of not more than ten thousand families constituted the ruling South in economic, social, and political life.³⁹ The inevitable tendency of slavery, said James Russell Lowell, was to concentrate in the hands of a few the soil, the capital, and the power of that section of the country where it

³⁶ Sumner, *The Barbarism of Slavery* (ed. 1863), pp. 20-32.

³⁷ John S. C. Abbott, *South and North; or, Impressions Received During a Trip to Cuba and the South* (1860), pp. 329-330.

³⁸ For an excellent account of the cotton-planter as a power in the social, economic, and political life of the South during this period, see William E. Dodd, *The Cotton Kingdom*.

³⁹ A. B. Hart, *Slavery and Abolition*, p. 68.

existed, and "to reduce the non-slaveholding class to a continually lower and lower level of property, intelligence, and enterprise," with the result that their increase in numbers added much to the economical hardship of their position and nothing to their political weight in the community.⁴⁰ It mattered not how enormous the wealth might be which was centered in the hands of a few, it had no longer the conservative force or the beneficent influence which it exerted when equally distributed, but lost more of both where a system of absenteeism prevailed as largely as in the South.⁴⁰ Hinton Rowan Helper saw in slavery alone the source of all these evils:

"In our opinion, an opinion which has been formed from data humiliating dependence on the Free States; disgraced us in the obtained by assiduous researches and comparisons, . . . the causes which have sunk a large majority of our people in galling poverty and ignorance, rendered a small minority conceited and tyrannical, and driven the rest away from their homes; entailed upon us a recesses of our own souls, and brought us under reproach in the eyes of all civilized and enlightened nations—may all be traced to one common source, and there find solution in the most hateful and horrible word, that was ever incorporated into the vocabulary of human economy—*Slavery!*"⁴¹

It is impossible to estimate the far-reaching effect which arguments of this kind had upon the anti-slavery movement preceding the Civil War, Helper's book aroused considerable interest in the North and in the South. In 1857, the year in which it was published, thirteen thousand copies were put upon the market.⁴² In 1860, when it was adopted by the Republicans and distributed as propaganda, it met with instant and bitter opposition from the Southerners, who were then more prosperous than they were ten years before when the statistics upon which Helper had based his argument were compiled.

⁴⁰ Lowell, "The Election in November," in *Political Essays*, pp. 32-33.

⁴¹ Helper, *The Impending Crisis of the South: How to Meet It*, p. 25. For Helper's suggestions for a remedy see below, pp. 470-471.

⁴² Edward Channing, *A History of the United States*, VI, 206.

III. SENTIMENTAL ARGUMENTS

Between the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 and the election of Lincoln in 1860, followed a few months later by the firing upon Fort Sumter, an enormous amount of anti-slavery literature was produced. The moral, religious, social, and economic movement against slavery during this period was sufficient to convince thousands of Northern people, hitherto hostile or indifferent to abolition, of the injustice of slavery. But something more was needed than mere conviction of its injustice. The people had to be moved to action. The sentimental arguments attempted to accomplish this result. These were of two classes, each differing from the other in the intensity of its feeling against slaveholding.

The best examples of the first group were furnished by Walt Whitman and Dion Boucicault. These writers showed no hostility to the slaveholder,⁴³ but allowed the strength of their opposition to slavery to be determined by the depth of their sympathy for the slave. In "Walt Whitman" (1855), a poem which in 1881 appeared under the title of "Song of Myself," the poet Whitman expressed keen sympathy for the fugitive slave without attacking directly the master or suggesting any other remedy for the slave's condition than that of assisting him to escape his pursuers:

"The runaway slave came to my house and stopped outside,
I heard his motions crackling the twigs of the woodpile,
Through the swung half-door of the kitchen I saw him limpsy
and weak,
And went where he sat on a log, and led him in and assured
him,
And brought water, and filled a tub for his sweated body and
bruised feet,

⁴³ In his anti-slavery poems Whitman was more severe upon Northern sympathizers with slavery than upon the slaveholders themselves. See in his *Complete Prose Works* (ed. 1892) the following early poems: "Dough-Face Song," pp. 339-340; "Blood-Money," pp. 372-373; "Wounded in the House of Friends," pp. 373-374; and in *Leaves of Grass*, ed. Holloway, "A Boston Ballad, 1854," pp. 225-227. See also Henry B. Binns, *A Life of Walt Whitman*, pp. 39-40.

And gave him a room that entered from my own, and gave him
 some coarse clean clothes,
 And remember perfectly well his revolving eyes and his awkwardness,
 And remember putting plasters on the galls of his neck and ankles;
 He staid with me a week before he was recuperated and passed north,
 I had him sit next me at table—my fire-lock leaned in the corner."⁴⁴

Boucicault's sympathy for the slave was shown in *The Octoroon* (1859), a play based upon a novel by the British writer, Mayne Reid, called *The Quadroon; or A Lover's Adventures in Louisiana* (1856). In the novel Edward Rutherford, an Englishman, while being nursed back to health at the home of the Creole, Miss Eugenie Besançon, whose life he had saved in a steamboat disaster off the Louisiana coast, fell in love with Miss Besançon's quadroon slave, Aurore. Before plans could be perfected for his securing Aurore, Gayarre, the unprincipled manager of the Besançon estate, had the estate and slaves sold for debt so that he might purchase Aurore for himself. Rutherford and a mysterious youth named Eugene lost their last dollar at a gambling house in New Orleans, on the night before the sale, in their endeavor to win sufficient money with which to buy Aurore. Just before Aurore was sold the youth brought Rutherford three thousand dollars with which to buy her, but this was not enough, for the agent of Gayarre was able to bid higher and Aurore became the property of Gayarre. Rutherford, assisted by Eugene, stole Aurore during the night, but was pursued and caught by the friends of Gayarre. He was about to be hanged when the sheriff rescued him. At the trial Eugene produced documents, taken by Aurore from Gayarre's desk, which showed that Aurore was free and that fifty thousand dollars in bank stock had been bequeathed to Miss Besançon by her father, to be paid to her upon the day on which she should be of age. Gayarre had stolen this from

⁴⁴ Whitman, *Leaves of Grass*, ed. Holloway, pp. 31-32. For other lines in this poem written in the same spirit, see *ibid.*, p. 56.

her. Accordingly, he was imprisoned, and Rutherford and Aurore were free to marry. The youth, Eugene, turned out to be Miss Besançon, who, from the time that she first met Rutherford, had been in love with him, and had later disguised herself as a youth to assist him in winning Aurore, in spite of her own unrequited love for him. Boucicault made several changes in this story to meet the tastes of the American theater-going public just before the Civil War. He changed the title from *The Quadroon* to *The Octoroon*, giving his heroine one-eighth instead of one-fourth of Negro blood. He gave to his hero, George Peyton, many of the characteristics of Edward Rutherford; to Jacob M'Closky many of those of Gayarre; to Zoë many of those of Aurore; and to Dora Sunnyside only a few of those of Eugenie Besançon. The other important characters of the play, such as Pete, Salem Scudder, Mrs. Peyton, Paul, and Wahnotee, the Indian, had no prototypes in the novel. Such scenes in the play as the photographing of M'Closky while he was murdering Paul, Zoë's taking poison, the burning steamer from which M'Closky escaped, and the death of Zoë did not appear in Reid's novel. M'Closky received no punishment, although his deeds were almost similar to those of Gayarre, who, in the novel, was sent to prison. When M'Closky was last seen, he was fighting with the enemy. Boucicault felt that to have the hero a white man, and the heroine, a girl with Negro blood in her veins, marry, as they did in the novel and in his English version of the play, would have affected seriously the popularity of the play; and so, in the American version he had Zoë take poison and die unmarried. He did, however, retain many of the anti-slavery features of the original story. For instance, he gave suggestions of the general setting of the novel. The scene of both was laid in Louisiana with scenes on the Mississippi in the background; the auction scene appeared in both the novel and the play; and in both there was opposition to lynching just before the villain was exposed. The following speeches uttered by George Peyton in the second act also savored of anti-slavery sentiment:

"Zoe, listen to me, then. I shall see this estate pass from me without a sigh, for it possesses no charm for me; the wealth I covet is the love of those around me—eyes that are rich in fond looks, lips that breathe endearing words; the only estate I value is the heart of one true woman, and the slaves I'd have are her thoughts. . . .

"Your birth—I know it. Has not my dear aunt forgotten it—she who had the most right to remember it? You are illegitimate, but love knows no prejudice."⁴⁵

This play was an immediate popular success and for several years was favorably received in many places in the United States and abroad.

Many minor writers of this group deserve mention. In a novel entitled *The Garies and Their Friends* (1857), by Frank J. Webb, the sympathy of the reader was evoked by the hardships which the Garies experienced because of race prejudice. Mr. Garie, a white man, lived on his Georgia plantation with one of his slaves by whom he had children. They would have married, but the laws of the state forbade such a union. Mr. Garie was persuaded, however, to move to the North where his children could be educated. Here he was murdered when a pro-slavery mob attacked his house, and his wife—they were married after reaching the North—died as a result of the shock. The remainder of the story dealt with the experiences of the Garie children, together with the successes of the Negroes in the North in spite of difficulties they experienced in securing an education and employment. In Mattie Griffith's *Madge Vertner*, a novel which appeared serially in the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* between July 30, 1859, and May 5, 1860, the heroine urged many slaves to escape and at her death secured the promise of Colonel Vertner, her father, to liberate his slaves; but like many other well-meaning slaveholders, he could not command the courage to do so. Before her death Madge Vertner discovered that she was the daughter of the Colonel by a quadroon. Among the other minor writers of this group were Elizur Wright, the author of a poem entitled "The Fugitive Slave to the Christian" (1853), in which he elicited

⁴⁵ Boucicault, "The Octoroon," in *Representative American Plays*, ed. A. H. Quinn, p. 443.

sympathy for the slave by having him plead to the Christian for assistance in escaping his pursuers; J. M. Whitfield, a Negro of Buffalo, New York, whose *America and Other Poems* (1853), contained many fervent appeals in behalf of the slave;⁴⁶ Maria Lowell, whose poem entitled "The Slave Mother" (published posthumously in 1855) touchingly described a slave mother holding her child upon her knee and praying that it might not live to experience the hardships of slavery; and J. C. Swayze, the author of *Ossawattomie Brown; or, The Insurrection at Harper's Ferry* (1859), a play showing sympathy for the slave indirectly through the author's treatment of John Brown.

The authors of the second group of sentimental arguments were more vehement in their attack upon slavery than those already discussed. Their object was to expose the cruelties of masters and overseers and to emphasize any other evils incident to the system by so cleverly playing upon the emotions of the reader as to create the greatest amount of sentiment possible against slavery. Their utterances, most of which were prompted by the attempt on the part of many Northerners to enforce the Fugitive Slave Act, must have gone far toward preparing the conscience of the North for the rupture which came in 1861.

The best examples of this kind of appeal were furnished by Harriet Beecher Stowe. The slaves in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *Dred* passed through numerous crises in the handling of which she utilized every opportunity to secure the desired emotional effect. Two quotations from *Uncle Tom's Cabin* will be sufficient to illustrate her method. While Tom was spending his last few moments with his grieved family before Haley came to take him away, Mrs. Shelby came in to speak with him:

" 'Tom,' she said, 'I come to——' and stopping suddenly, and regarding the silent group, she sat down in the chair, and, covering her face with her handkerchief, began to sob.

⁴⁶ See, for example, his "America," "How Long," "Stanzas for the First of August," and "Prayer of the Oppressed."

“ ‘Lor, now, missis, don’t—don’t!’ said Aunt Chloe, bursting out in her turn; and for a few moments they all wept in company. And in those tears they all shed together, the high and the lowly, melted away all the heart-burnings and anger of the oppressed. O, ye who visit the distressed, do ye know that everything your money can buy given with a cold, averted face, is not worth one honest tear shed in real sympathy?’ ”⁴⁷

A more pathetic scene occurred on the boat which bore Tom and other slaves to the South. Among Haley’s slaves on this journey were a woman and her child whom Haley had bought with a view to selling on some plantation in the far South. The woman was made to believe, however, that she was to be hired out as a cook in Louisville, where she would be with her husband. Before the boat reached Louisville Haley sold the child for forty-five dollars and later stole it from its mother as she was surveying the crowd on the wharf at Louisville, hoping to see her husband. When she returned to her seat where a moment before she had left the child, the child was gone. “ ‘Her slack hands,’ ” said the author, “ ‘fell lifeless by her side. Her eyes looked straight forward, but she saw nothing. All the noise and hum of the boat, the groaning of the machinery, mingled dreamily to her bewildered ear; and the poor, dumb-stricken heart had neither cry nor tear to show for its utter misery.’ ”⁴⁸ Tom, who saw the entire transaction, tried to console the mother:

“ ‘Honestly, and with tears running down his own cheeks, he spoke of a heart of love in the skies, of a pitying Jesus, and an eternal home; but the ear was deaf with anguish, and the palsied heart could not feel.

“ ‘Night came on—night, calm, unmoved, and glorious, shining down with her innumerable and solemn angel eyes, twinkling, beautiful, but silent. There was no speech nor language, no pitying voice or helping hand, from that distant sky. One after another, the voices of business or pleasure died away; all on the boat were sleeping, and the ripples at the prow were plainly heard. Tom stretched himself out on a box, and there, as he lay, he heard, ever and anon, a smothered sob or cry from the prostrate creature—‘O! what shall I do? O, Lord, O, good Lord, do help me!’ and so ever and anon, until the murmur died away in silence.

⁴⁷ Stowe, *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, I, 145-146.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 190.

"At midnight, Tom awoke, with a sudden start. Something black passed quickly by him to the side of the boat, and he heard a splash in the water. No one else saw or heard anything. He raised his head—the woman's place was vacant! He got up, and sought about him in vain. The poor bleeding heart was still, at last, and the river rippled and dimpled just as brightly as if it had not closed above it.

"Patience! patience! ye whose hearts swell indignant at wrongs like these. Not one throb of anguish, not one tear of the oppressed, is forgotten by the Man of Sorrows, the Lord of Glory. In his patient, generous bosom he bears the anguish of a world. Bear thou, like him, in patience, and labor in love; for sure as he is God, 'the year of his redeemed *shall* come.' "49

As already noted, the most significant utterances against slavery during this period were prompted by the effort of many Northerners to enforce the Fugitive Slave Act. Two specific instances of this should be given because of the bitter opposition that was provoked from the abolitionists. In April, 1851, Thomas Sims, a colored man, was found in Boston, arrested on a false charge of theft, then claimed as a fugitive slave, and carried back to Georgia. On April 9, 1852, religious exercises were held in Boston for the purpose of protesting against such events. Theodore Parker delivered one of the addresses and composed an ode for the occasion. Here he called the attention of his hearers to the "Southern chains" that surrounded their home, and urged them, if they did not wish to wear those chains, to protect the slave:

"Sons of men who dared be free
For truth and right, who cross'd the sea,
Hide the trembling poor that flee
From the land of slaves!

.
"By yon sea that freely waves,
By your fathers' honored graves,
Swear you never will be slaves,
Nor steal your fellow man!

"By the heaven whose breath you draw,
By the God whose higher law
Fills the heaven of heavens with awe;
Swear for freedom now!

* *Ibid.*, 191-192.

“Men whose hearts with pity move,
Men that trust in God above,
Who stoutly follow Christ in love,
Save your brother men!”⁵⁰

Three days later Wendell Phillips, in an address entitled “Sims Anniversary,” advised the slave to flee if he got a chance; and if it should be impossible to do this, to “arm himself, and by resistance secure in the Free States a trial for homicide,”—trusting that no jury would be able “so far to crush the instincts of humanity as not to hold him justified.”⁵¹ In the same address he expressed the belief that force only would be adequate to accomplish the downfall of slavery; and that if he lived until the day of the conflict, he would say to every slave, “Strike now for Freedom”;⁵² for he believed that no civil war was “any more sickening than the thought of a hundred and fifty years of slavery.”⁵³ Then with increased warmth of feeling he elaborated upon this idea. He asked where was there a battlefield, however ghastly, that was not as “white as an angel’s wing” compared with that darkness which had brooded over the South for two hundred years:

“Weigh out the fifty thousand hearts that have beaten their last pulse amid agonies of thought and suffering fancy faints to think of, and the fifty thousand mothers who, with sickening senses, watch for footsteps that are not wont to tarry long in their coming, and soon find themselves left to tread the pathway of life alone,—add all the horrors of cities sacked and lands laid waste,—that is war,—weigh it now against some young, trembling girl sent to the auction-block, some man like that taken from our court-house and carried back to Georgia; multiply this individual agony into three millions; multiply that into centuries; and that into all the relations of father and child, husband and wife; heap on all the deep moral degradation both of the oppressor and the oppressed,—and tell me if Waterloo or Thermopylae can claim one tear from the eye even of the tenderest spirit of mercy, compared with this daily system of hell amid the most civilized and Christian people on the face of the earth.”⁵⁴

⁵⁰ John Weiss, *Life and Correspondence of Theodore Parker*, II, 109.

⁵¹ Phillips, *Speeches, Lectures, and Letters*, pp. 77-78.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 85.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

Frederick Douglass very probably had in mind the Sims case when, in an address delivered July 4, 1852, on the anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, he told his audience that if he had the ability and could reach the nation's ear, he would "pour out a fiery stream of biting ridicule, blasting reproach, withering sarcasm, and stern rebuke"; for it was not light that was needed, but fire. He asked his hearers if they meant to mock him by inviting him to speak on such an occasion, and informed them that to him the Fourth of July was not a day for rejoicing, but for mourning:

"What to the American slave, is your Fourth of July? I answer; a day that reveals to him, more than all other days in the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim. To him your celebration is a sham; your boasted liberty, an unholy license; your national greatness, swelling vanity; your sounds of rejoicing are empty and heartless; your denunciations of tyrants, brass-fronted impudence; your shouts of liberty and equality, hollow mockery; your prayers and hymns, your sermons and thanksgivings, with all your religious parade, and solemnity, are, to him, mere bombast, fraud, deception, impiety, and hypocrisy—a thin veil to cover up crimes which would disgrace a nation of savages. There is not a nation on the earth guilty of practices, more shocking and bloody, than are the people of these United States, at this very hour."⁵⁵

The other case was that of Anthony Burns, a fugitive slave, who in 1854 was arrested in Boston and remanded to slavery. The event aroused so much resentment in Massachusetts that no other fugitive from labor was ever arrested on her soil.⁵⁶ Thomas Wentworth Higginson was one of the few men who, on May 26, 1854, made an attack on the Court House at Boston with the hope of rescuing Burns and received a cut on his chin which left a permanent scar.⁵⁷ Two days later he wrote from Worcester, Massachusetts, to the Reverend Samuel May, Jr.:

"I hear rumors of my arrest, but hardly expect it. If true, I

⁵⁵ Douglass, *Oration Delivered in Corinthian Hall, Rochester*, p. 20.

⁵⁶ Edward Channing, *A History of the United States*, VI, III.

⁵⁷ M. T. Higginson, *Thomas Wentworth Higginson*, p. 144.

hope no United States Officer will be sent up, for I cannot answer for his life in the streets of Worcester.'⁵⁸

Shortly afterwards he was arrested, but the indictment was ultimately quashed.⁵⁹ This event also was the occasion of Walt Whitman's satire against pro-slavery Bostonians entitled "A Boston Ballad, 1854," first published in 1855.⁶⁰ Henry D. Thoreau was so incensed over the treatment accorded Burns in Massachusetts that on June 16, 1854, he wrote in his Journal:

"For my part, my old and worthiest pursuits have lost I cannot say how much of their attraction, and I feel that my investment in life is worth many per cent. less since Massachusetts . . . deliberately and forcibly restored an innocent man, Anthony Burns, to slavery. I dwelt before in the illusion that my life passed somewhere only between heaven and hell, but now I cannot persuade myself that I do not dwell wholly within hell. The sight of that political organization called Massachusetts is to me morally covered with scoriae and volcanic cinders, such as Milton imagined. If there is any hell more unprincipled than our rulers and our people, I feel curious to visit it. . . . It is time we had done referring to our ancestors. It is not an era of repose. If we would save our lives, we must fight for them.'⁶¹

Thoreau was equally defiant in his "Slavery in Massachusetts," an address delivered at the anti-slavery celebration at Framingham, July 4, 1854. Here he uttered publicly the same kind of sentiment, expressing contempt for the courts and refusing Massachusetts his allegiance. It was on this day also that William Lloyd Garrison burned before the audience, among other documents, a copy of the Fugitive Slave Law and the Constitution of the United States, which he called "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell.'⁶²

This spirit of defiance characterized also the works of

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

⁵⁹ Higginson, *Cheerful Yesterdays*, p. 162.

⁶⁰ See *Leaves of Grass*, ed. Holloway, pp. 225-227.

⁶¹ Thoreau, *Journal*, VI, 355-357. Five years later, following John Brown's capture at Harper's Ferry, Thoreau was equally severe in his criticism of certain citizens of Massachusetts because of their attitude toward Brown. See *Journal*, XII, 400 ff.

⁶² W. P. and F. J. Garrison, *William Lloyd Garrison*, III, 412.

many minor sentimentalists of this group. E. P. Rogers said that if ever the slave catcher crossed his threshold, his "bleeding form" should "welter there";⁶³ and William Denton made a vow that no sun should pass over his head without his doing some act

"To break the proud oppressor's yoke

.
And send Oppression to its grave."⁶⁴

The majority of the minor writers of this group, however, achieved their effects largely through their descriptions of the cruelties suffered by the slave at the hands of unprincipled overseers and slave catchers. In some instances the slave was successful in escaping to the North,⁶⁵ but most often he met death through suicide,⁶⁶ or at the hands of his pursuers⁶⁷ or even of a parent. In a novel entitled *Chattanooga* (1858), by John Jolliffe, a beautiful slave woman, Huldah, was assisted in escaping from a cruel master by an Indian. The Indian afterwards married her and took her to Europe, where they remained four years. On their return to America they were sought by Huldah's former master. In the conflict that ensued Huldah murdered her child to prevent his being sold into slavery, and allowed herself to be seized, bound, and sold to a trader in Louisiana. Her husband and father were both killed in their effort to protect her. In Louisiana Huldah toiled incessantly, and, when very old, died in the field under the lash of the slave driver. Many scenes in the book were effective from an emotional point of view. Huldah's separation from her family early in the story when she was sold to a slave trader in Louisiana, and the scene in which she drew a dagger from her bosom, plunged it into the heart of her child, and threw upon his

⁶³ Rogers, *A Poem on the Fugitive Slave Law* (1855), p. 10.

⁶⁴ Denton, "On Being Asked to Take the Oath of Allegiance" (1859), in *Poems for Reformers*, p. 57.

⁶⁵ See H. L. Hosmer, *Adela, the Octoroon* (1860).

⁶⁶ See Thomas B. Thorpe, *The Master's House* (1854).

⁶⁷ See M. Roland Markham, *Alcar, the Captive Creole* (1857). In *The Yankee Slave Driver; or, The Black and White Rivals* (1860), by William W. Smith, a young master's cruelty was responsible for the death of three of his slaves.

bleeding wound the flag of her country were especially strong in the emotional element. An equally forceful description of the horrors of slavery appeared in a poem entitled "Bury Me in a Free Land" (1858), by Frances Ellen Watkins, a Negro poet:

"You may make my grave wherever you will,
In a lowly vale or a lofty hill;
You may make it among earth's humblest graves,
But not in a land where men are slaves.

"I could not rest if I heard the tread
Of a coffle-gang to the shambles led,
And the mother's shriek of wild despair
Rise like a curse on the trembling air.

"I could not rest if I heard the lash
Drinking her blood at each fearful gash,
And I saw her babes torn from her breast,
Like trembling doves from their parent nest.

"I'd shudder and start, if I heard the bay
Of the bloodhounds seizing their human prey;
If I heard the captive plead in vain
As they tightened afresh his galling chain.

"If I saw young girls, from their mothers' arms
Bartered and sold for their youthful charms,
My eye would flash with a mournful flame,
My death-paled cheek grow red with shame.

"I would sleep, dear friends, where bloated Might
Can rob no man of his dearest right;
My rest shall be calm in any grave,
Where none calls his brother a slave.

"I ask no monument proud and high,
To arrest the gaze of passers by;
All that my spirit yearning craves,
Is—bury me not in the land of slaves."⁶⁸

IV. PLANS FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVE

During this period the majority of the advocates of both gradual and immediate emancipation favored colonizing the Negro in Africa or elsewhere. A rather elaborate plan of gradual emancipation was offered by Hinton Rowan Helper.

⁶⁸ Watkins, "Bury Me in a Free Land," in the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, December 4, 1858.

He urged that a general convention of non-slaveholders of the South be called with a view to perfecting this plan, which provided, among other things: (1) that the non-slaveholding whites of the South organize to combat slavery; (2) that they refuse to co-operate with slaveholders in politics, religion, business, and social life generally; (3) that they give no recognition to pro-slavery men except as ruffians, outlaws, and criminals; (4) that they hire no more slaves, but give the greatest possible encouragement to free white labor; (5) that a tax of sixty dollars be levied on every slaveholder for every Negro in his possession at that time [1857] or at any intermediate time between 1857 and July 4, 1863—such money to be used for transporting the Negroes to Africa, to Central or South America, or to a comfortable settlement within the boundaries of the United States; (6) that an additional tax of forty dollars a year be levied on every slaveholder for every Negro found in his possession after July 4, 1863; and (7) that if slavery should not be totally abolished by the year 1869, the annual tax be increased to one hundred dollars or sufficiently above that amount to prove an infallible death-blow to slavery on or before July 4, 1876.⁶⁹

Sarah J. Hale also favored abolition, but was convinced that the condition of the slave was not such as to fit him for immediate emancipation. In *Northwood; or Life North and South*⁷⁰ (1852), her hero, Sidney Romilly, retained and educated his slaves so that they might be prepared when emancipation should come. Romilly believed that a great future awaited the Negro in Africa:

⁶⁹ Helper, *The Impending Crisis of the South: How to Meet It*, pp. 155, 156, 178.

⁷⁰ This novel was a revision of an earlier story entitled *Northwood; A Tale of New England* (1827) in which the only reference to slavery was made by the hero, who expressed the desire that the time might come when the slaves could be emancipated without danger to themselves or to the country, but at that time he did not see how masters could do better by their slaves than treat them humanely. See *Northwood; A Tale of New England*, I, 157-158. The success of this early edition of *Northwood*, said the author, led to her being made editor of the *Ladies' Magazine*, "the first literary work exclusively devoted to women ever published in America."—S. J. Hale, *Northwood; or Life North and South*

"I am intending to help colonize Liberia. What a glorious prospect is there opened before the freed slaves from America? . . . Millions on millions of his black brothers will bless him. And if there is a country on earth where some future hero, greater even than our Washington, may arise, it is Africa."⁷¹

Likewise in *Liberia; or Mr. Peyton's Experiment* (1853), by the same author, the hero, Charles Peyton, who had profound sympathy for the African, would not free his slaves until he was able to send them to Liberia. After long and patient observation he had become convinced that nowhere else than in Africa was the African able to attain to his fullest development. Here, unhampered by race prejudice, his former slaves began life anew and became worthy and respectful citizens. A more detailed plan of gradual abolition was presented by Elizabeth A. Roe in *Aunt Leanna, or, Early Scenes in Kentucky* (1855). She related the experiences of a New England family, the Lyons, who moved from Vermont to Kentucky and made many self-sacrificing efforts for the emancipation and improvement of the slaves. Their participation in slaveholding took the form of buying Negroes who were inhumanely treated by their masters, of later emancipating them, and of fitting them for independent living in the free states. The author herself was the youngest member of the Lyon family; and so, wrote her story not as fiction, but as a record of real events in which she herself played an important part. The cruelty of the neighboring slaveholders toward their slaves was contrasted vividly with the kindness of the Lyons toward theirs, and considerable attention was given to a discussion of the colonization of the Negroes in Africa. The expense of sending Negroes to Africa, the author contended, was far less than that of a national war, which she said was inevitable unless some plan of colonization could be effected. Her plan called for the organization of family, neighborhood, county, state, and national colonization societies—all working together harmoniously. By such

(ed. 1852), p. iii. In the edition of 1852 Chapters XIV and XXXIV contained anti-slavery material which did not appear in the earlier edition.

⁷¹ Hale, *Northwood; or Life North and South*, p. 405.

a scheme she was confident that in thirty years every Negro could be in Africa or in some other suitable place far from the whites. She thought that by moral suasion the South could be induced to cooperate with this movement, especially if compensation should be made to those Southerners who would suffer great losses by emancipation.

As would be expected, between 1850 and 1861, a great many abolitionists, influenced largely by the work of William Lloyd Garrison, continued without abatement their advocacy of immediatism. Ralph Waldo Emerson, impressed by the method that Great Britain had employed with regard to her slaves, urged, in an address at Concord on May 3, 1851, that the slaves be freed immediately and that the owners of them be compensated by the government.⁷² Most of the advocates of immediate emancipation, however, so far as American literature is concerned, favored colonization after the Negroes should be freed and educated. Harriet Beecher Stowe belonged to this group. She believed that the Negro race could attain to its fullest development only in Africa. After George Harris had received a thorough education at a French university, he moved with his family to Liberia:

“‘I go to *Liberia*,’ he said, ‘not as to an Elysium of romance, but as to a *field of work*. I expect to work with both hands—to work *hard*; to work against all sorts of difficulties and discouragements; and to work till I die. This is what I go for; and in this I am quite sure I shall not be disappointed.’”⁷³

Even Topsy later became a missionary to one of the stations in Africa, and Cassy’s son, having been educated by Northern friends of the Negro, was making plans to follow with his family. Mrs. Stowe did not favor, however, an immediate

⁷² Emerson, “The Fugitive Slave Law (1851), in *Complete Works*, XI, 208 ff. Harriet H. Bigelow, in her novel entitled *The Curse Entailed* (1857), likewise favored immediate emancipation, but she opposed the idea that the North should compromise with the South by buying its slaves and emancipating them; for to do so, she said, would serve to “fasten slavery tighter upon the nation. . . . It would soon become an extra stimulus for them [the Southerners] to kidnap our children, that they might sell them back to us as slaves.” See *The Curse Entailed*, p. 465.

⁷³ Stowe, *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, II, 303.

exodus of the freedmen to Africa. She thought that they should first be educated by the Americans in order to be prepared for the work awaiting them in their native land:

"To fill up Liberia with an ignorant, inexperienced, half-barbarized race, just escaped from the chains of slavery, would be only to prolong, for ages, the period of struggle and conflict which attend the inception of new enterprises. Let the church of the north receive these poor sufferers in the spirit of Christ; receive them to the educating advantages of Christian republican society and schools, until they have attained to somewhat of a moral and intellectual maturity, and then assist them in their passage to these shores, where they may put in practice the lessons they have learned in America."⁷⁴

Henry Ward Beecher likewise favored colonizing the Negroes after they should be freed and educated:

"I am for colonization. If any one wishes to go to Africa I would give him the means of going, and for the sake of the continent of Africa, colonization is the true scheme; but if colonization is advocated for our sake, I say, Get thee behind me, Satan, thou savor'est not of the things that be of God, but those that be of men. Do your duty first to the colored people here, educate them, Christianize them, and *then* colonize them."⁷⁵

A brief survey of the material discussed in this chapter will reveal the fact that between 1850 and 1861 the abolition movement had a rapid, uninterrupted growth which must be attributed largely to the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 and to the many attempts to enforce it. The first significant reaction to this Act came with the publication in 1851-1852 of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. This remarkable book, which combined most of the arguments and methods of the anti-slavery writers who came before 1851-1852, and anticipated most of those of the writers who followed, presented the program of the anti-slavery movement more effectively and demanded its acceptance more powerfully than any other

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 318.

⁷⁵ Beecher, "American Slavery" (1851), in *Patriotic Addresses*, p. 186. For similar views, see Sidney A. Story, *Story of Republican Equality* (1856), p. 503, and H. L. Hosmer, *Adela, The Octoroon* (1860), pp. 383-386. For an opposing view, see William Wells Brown, *Clotel; or The President's Daughter*, p. 158.

single production of the period. The spirit of defiance, which at this time characterized the actions and utterances of a large number of people, also found expression in much of the anti-slavery literature of the period and gave strong intimations of the coming conflict. There was strong advocacy of gradual and immediate emancipation and of colonization—colonization, however, not of the free Negro, but of the *freed* Negro, who should be first educated in America and afterwards sent to Africa.

CHAPTER V

THE CIVIL WAR PERIOD (1861-1865)

During the period of the Civil War, when the problem of greatest concern to the North was that of preserving the Union, an enormous amount of patriotic literature was produced, much of which, though anti-Southern in sentiment, may not properly be termed anti-slavery. To the authors of such literature the welfare of the slave was of little concern when the very life of the nation was so dangerously near extinction. On the other hand, it must not be inferred that there was any loss of interest in the welfare of the slave on the part of the abolitionists. Throughout this period their opposition to slavery upon moral, religious, social, economic, and political grounds found fullest and most effective expression in the novel; whereas their sentimental arguments were confined chiefly to poetry.

I. MORAL AND RELIGIOUS ARGUMENTS

The moral and religious arguments against slavery, so far as the American literature of this period is concerned, with few exceptions dealt with the effect of slavery upon the white people of the South.¹

The morals of these people were said to be on a lower level than those of the slave.² Especially was this true of the poor whites, who were said to be "indolent, shiftless, and thieving," and given to "whisky-drinking, snuff-dipping, clay-eating," and many other vices. Brothers, it was said, intermarried with sisters, fathers cohabited with daughters, and husbands sold or bartered away their wives as freely as

¹ One of these exceptions was the argument in *Among the Pines* (1862), by J. R. Gilmore ("Edmund Kirke"), in which it was held that the detrimental effect of slavery upon the morals and intellect of the slave constituted the strongest argument against slavery. See *Among the Pines*, pp. 27, 32, 33.

² See J. T. Trowbridge, *Cudgo's Cave* (1863), p. 20, a novel in which were described some of the conflicts in East Tennessee between the secessionists and those who remained loyal to the Union.

they would their dogs, or as the planter would his slaves.³ Slavery had become the non-slaveholders' curse and infatuation, "for it fascinated while it crushed them; and drugged and stupified while it robbed and degraded them."⁴ A concrete illustration of the ill effect of slavery upon the morals of a slave-trader was given by Stephen C. Bulfinch in *Honor; or, The Slave-Dealer's Daughter* (1864). Here a Northern boy intending to marry the daughter of a slave-trader, barely escaped with his life when pro-slavery rioters gathered to murder him because they suspected he was an abolitionist. The slave-trader himself attempted to murder his prospective son-in-law when the latter refused a dowry of twenty thousand dollars accompanying the girl because it had been made by slave-trading. The author of the story expressed the belief that slavery was consummating its work of evil by the crimes and horrors of the Civil War, and hoped that it would find therein its own destruction.⁵ The moral evils due to the indiscriminate mingling of the two races in the South, it was said, would be stopped if slavery should be abolished. Since the black man, who was inferior to the white, did not seek the white, but the white the black, slavery, by making possible a continual infusion of fresh white blood into the black man's veins, kept him alive; but if the slaves were free and no longer under the absolute control of their masters, such immorality would no longer exist, for indiscriminate mingling between the races would cease and the Negroes, thus unmixed, isolated, and inferior, would soon die.⁶

Considerable emphasis was placed also upon the detrimental effect of slavery upon the religion of Southern white people. It was said that some of them had never heard of a

* Edmund Kirke, *Down in Tennessee* (1864), p. 184. See also John H. Aughey, *The Iron Furnace; or, Slavery and Secession* (1863), pp. 212-216. This work was written after its author's temporary residence in the South, particularly in Mississippi, where, at the outbreak of the Civil War, he was engaged in evangelistic work.

⁴ Epes Sargent, *Peculiar: A Tale of the Great Transition* (1864), p. 99.

⁵ Bulfinch, *Honor; or, The Slave-Dealer's Daughter*, p. 3.

⁶ Edmund Kirke, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

Bible; consequently, they had very crude notions of God and religious duty. In fact, they had no religion.⁷ In a novel by M. B. Smith, entitled *My Uncle's Family; or, Ten Months at the South* (1863), a New England girl, Bernice, on the death of her parents went to South Carolina to live with her uncle, Mr. Delano, who owned slaves. During her ten months' residence there she was able to reform his slaves and, with the aid of a minister from her home, to convert her uncle and his wife, causing them to liberate their slaves and to move to the North, where they employed them as servants. While in the South Mr. Delano seldom attended church because he discovered that the minister was a hypocrite. He said to Bernice:

"I can't swallow such preaching as we have here. . . . You have been used to hearing the Gospel preached at home, but here you will meet with a lame attempt to bring up the old Jewish law and remodel it to suit our state of society. It is too hypocritical for me. When ministers become apologists for wrong, deliver me from them, I say. I am bad enough, God knows, but I have been too well brought up to listen to such doctrines with any degree of patience."⁸

The hero of Epes Sargent's *Peculiar: A Tale of the Great Transition* (1864), probably the most effective anti-slavery novel of the Civil War period, had heard preachers "stand up in their pulpits and . . . blaspheme God by calling slavery a Divine institution. . . . The Northern clergymen he encountered held usually South-side views of the subject, and so his prejudice against the cloth grew to be somewhat too sweeping and indiscriminate. Judged of by its relations to slavery, religion seemed to him an audacious system of impositions, raised to fortify a lie and a wrong by claiming a Divine sanction for merely human creeds and inventions."⁹

II. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ARGUMENTS

The authors of the most significant social and economic arguments against slavery that appeared in the literature of this period contended that slave labor was the chief source

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 186.

⁸ Smith, *My Uncle's Family*, p. 69.

⁹ Sargent, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

of all the social and economic evils in the South. Since the opportunities offered the laboring man were always fewer where slavery existed than elsewhere, educational facilities and living conditions generally were necessarily worse. The direct effect of slavery was not to remove the black man from competition with white labor, as some politicians had tried to persuade the people, but rather was it "to give to slaveholders the monopoly and control of the most desirable kinds of labor, and to enable them to degrade and impoverish the white laboring man."¹⁰ The result was that the masses were living in ignorance and poverty and the rich receiving all the benefits to be derived from labor. Not one in a thousand of the poor people, it was said, could read, and not one in ten thousand could write.¹¹ In describing the wretched condition of education in the South, due to poverty, the author of *Down in Tennessee* had one of the poor whites say:

"Ye see we hain't no schules round yere; an' ef we hed, pore men karn't pay no fifty dollar a yar ter guv' thar childerings larnin'. Dad an' I, 'fore them dinged Fed'rate rags got so thick in the Kentry 'nuver seed five dollar' from un' yar eend ter 'tother.'¹²

Wretched living conditions generally were due to slave labor. In *Peculiar* during a conversation between two characters, Mr. Vance and Quattles, concerning the effect of slavery upon the economic status of the poor white people, Quattles explained the situation as follows:

"Wall, as I war sayin', one cuss of slavery ar', it drives the poor whites away from honest labor; makes 'em think its meansperretid ter hoe corn an' plant 'taters. An' this feelin', yer see, ar' all ter the profit uv the rich men,—the Hammonds, Rhettts, an' Draytons,—'cause why? 'cause it leaves ter the rich all the good land, an' drives the poor whites ter pickin' up a mean livin', any way they kin, outside uv hard work! Howsomever, I didn't see this: an' so, like other mis'erable fools, I thowt I war a sort uv a 'ristocrat myself, 'cause I could put on airs afore a nigger. An' this feelin' the slave-owners try to keep in the mean whites; try to make 'em feel proud they're not niggers in a rice-swamp.'¹³

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 96

¹¹ Edmund Kirke, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 86.

¹³ Sargent, *op. cit.*, pp. 240-241.

Seeing in the abolition of slavery a cure for these evils, the author contended, through the mouth of another of his characters, that the loss which the planter would suffer from emancipation had been overestimated; that the planter's land would soon double by the act; and that the freed slaves would remain on the soil with greater incentives to labor than they had had at any time before.¹⁴ What was first needed, however, was victory for the Union Army; and it was suggested that while the Civil War was in progress, Northern soldiers should begin an educational campaign among the Southern women by scattering Union publications broadcast over the conquered districts, and by starting a free press wherever the North should hold a foot of Southern soil; for it was believed that if the women were converted, the country would be saved.¹⁵

III. POLITICAL ARGUMENTS

In the novels of this period there was also some opposition to slavery on political grounds. Attention was called to some of the disadvantages from a political point of view that the poor white people and Negroes experienced in the South as a result of slavery. It was said that the slaveholders controlled all legislative action to the detriment of the non-slaveholders, and that the abolition of slavery was necessary in order that the life of the nation might be preserved and a lasting peace insured.¹⁶ One of the characters in Epes Sargent's *Peculiar* lamented the fact that the Negro had for so many years been denied the rights of a citizen, and asked that he be given an opportunity of proving himself worthy of all the civil rights enjoyed by others. When asked if he would also grant the black man social equality, this character replied:

"I would admit him to all the civil rights of the white. There are many men whom I am willing to acknowledge my equals, whose society I may not covet. That does not at all affect the question

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

¹⁵ Edmund Kirke, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 227.

of their rights. Let us give the black man a fair field. Let us not begin by declaring his inferiority in capacity, and then anxiously strive to prevent his finding a chance to prove the declaration untrue."¹⁷

IV. SENTIMENTAL ARGUMENTS

The sentimental appeals for the emancipation of the slave as found in the literature of the Civil War period may be divided into two classes: first, those which revealed little or nothing regarding contemporary events, and which might just as well have appeared during any other period of the anti-slavery movement; and second, those which reflected admirably the spirit of the time, and which were intended primarily to be an inspiration to the Union Army, in the success of which the authors of them saw the end of slavery.¹⁸

Of the productions of the first group, a story by Louisa M. Alcott entitled "M. L." (1863) was the best example.¹⁹ The hero of this story, Paul Frere, was a mulatto slave, the son of a Cuban planter and a quadroon. On the death of his father, he fell into the hands of a cruel master, Maurice Lecroix, whose initials "M. L." were branded on Paul's hand. After many hardships, due in part to his attempts to escape from slavery, Paul was rescued through the aid of his sister Nathalie, who had fallen heir to her father's name and for-

¹⁷ Sargent, *Peculiar: op. cit.*, p. 149.

¹⁸ An enormous amount of Civil War literature was anti-Southern in sentiment, but contained no reference to Negro slavery. In dealing with this literature, except in the case of productions by authors who were known to be opponents of slavery, one can never be certain whether it was prompted by the author's desire for the emancipation of the slave, as well as for the preservation of the Union, or by his desire for the preservation of the Union only. In view of this fact, only those works containing specific reference to Negro slavery, or those by writers concerning whose views on the question there can be no doubt, are included.

¹⁹ See Documents, pp. 495 ff., for a reprint of the entire story. Another example of this group was "The Lady and Her Slave: A Tale" (1863), by Martha W. Cook, in which a dying slave woman related to her mistress the details of her being disgraced by her master and asked that her daughter be freed so that a similar fate might not be hers. The mistress was moved by the dying woman's plea, was converted to the cause of abolition, and resolved that all women should be freed and their spotless fame upheld. See the *Continental Monthly*, III, 330-333, March, 1863.

tune. Paul left the island, passing for a Spaniard. After studying music in Germany, he came to America an accomplished musician; and at the opening of the story was the teacher of Claudia, a beautiful, wealthy girl. Shortly after they had become engaged, Paul wrote an account of his past and brought it to Claudia's home with the intention of giving it to her. A leaf from this memoir was picked up and read by Jessie Snowden, Claudia's friend, who also admired Paul. Jessie instantly made public the secret, hoping to bring about a separation between Paul and Claudia. Despite the harsh criticisms of her friends, her temporary ostracism, and the pleas of Paul that she break the engagement, Claudia kept her promise. On her face, said the author, "there came a light more beautiful than any smile; on cheek and forehead glowed the fervor of her generous blood; in eye and voice spoke the courage of her steadfast heart, as she flung down the barrier, saying only 'Mine still, mine forever, Paul!' and with that tender welcome took the wronged man to the shelter of her love."²⁰ When asked by Paul whether she remembered the price her action might cost her, Claudia replied:

"I do remember that I cannot pay too much for what is priceless; that when I was loveless and alone, there came a friend who never will desert me when others fail; that from lowly places poets, philosophers, and kings have come; and when the world sneers at the name you give me, I can turn upon it saying with the pride that stirs me now: 'My husband has achieved a nobler success than men you honor, has surmounted greater obstacles, has conquered sterner foes, and risen to be an honest man.'"²⁰

In describing the expression on Paul's face after he was assured of Claudia's fidelity to him, the author said:

"As he spoke, Paul looked a happier, more *contented* slave, than those fabulous captives the South boasts of, but finds it hard to show."²¹

The sentimental arguments of the second group were inspired by events growing out of the Civil War. Whether they were written to celebrate such signal victories for the

²⁰ Alcott, "M.L.," in the *Boston Commonwealth*, February 14, 1863.

²¹ *Ibid.*, February 21, 1863.

abolitionists as the emancipation of the slaves in the District of Columbia, the issuing of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, and the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, or whether they were written merely to lessen the effect of some defeat the North had suffered at the hands of the Southerners, their purpose was always the same—to instill courage into the fighting forces of the North.

Most of the sentimental appeals written during the early part of the war were urgent pleas to the citizens of the North for a united stand against the enemy. After the firing upon Fort Sumter in April, 1861, the time for truce and compromise was felt to be over.

"Sumter's flames in Southern waters
Are the first wild beacon light
And on Northern hills reflected
Give the signal for the fight."²²

In July, 1861, William Cullen Bryant inquired whether Americans, "like cravens," would stand aloof when the enemy was aiming a death blow at the heart of their country, the "marvel of the earth." He inquired also whether the founders of their nation bled in vain, or vainly planned to leave their country great and free; and promptly replied that their sleeping ashes sent up from below the "thrilling murmur, No!"²³ Two months later, after summoning men from various occupations and sections of the land and pleading with them to

"Strike to defend the gentlest sway
That Time in all his course has seen,"

he concluded his appeal, as follows:

"Few, few were they whose swords of old
Won the fair land in which we dwell;
But we are many, we who hold
The grim resolve to guard it well.
Strike, for that broad and goodly land,
Blow after blow, till men shall see

²² Charles G. Leland, "Out and Fight" (April 27, 1861), in Burton E. Stevenson, *Poems of American History*, pp. 409-410.

²³ Bryant, "Not Yet," in *Thirty Poems*, pp. 101-103.

That Might and Right move hand in hand,
And glorious must their triumph be.''²⁴

James Russell Lowell asked for peace through war;²⁵ and Richard Henry Stoddard called upon the men of the North and West to fight for their country if they loved freedom better than slavery, for

"They have torn down your banner of stars;
They have trampled the laws;
They have stifled the freedom they hate
For no cause!
Do you love it or slavery best?
Speak! Men of the North and West.

"Not with words; they laugh them to scorn,
And tears they despise;
But with swords in your hands and death
In your eyes!
Strike home! leave to God all the rest;
Strike! Men of the North and West.''²⁶

Following the emancipation of the slaves in the District of Columbia in 1862 a great many anti-slavery poems were written in celebration of the event. The presence of an auction block in the nation's capital, where men and women were sold like so many cattle, had for several years provoked very bitter resentment not only from the abolitionists, but from persons not otherwise noted for their anti-slavery sentiments. Consequently, shortly after the beginning of the war, when this practice was abandoned, there was great rejoicing. Many regarded the war as God's punishment of America for enslaving the Africans and saw in the emancipation of the slaves in the District of Columbia a beginning of the end of slavery.²⁷ The poet Whittier rejoiced over the

²⁴ Bryant, "Our Country's Call," in *ibid.*, pp. 104-107.

²⁵ Lowell, "The Washers of the Shroud" (October, 1861), in *Complete Poetical Works*, ed. Scudder, p. 336.

²⁶ Stoddard, "Men of the North and West" (1861), in Burton E. Stevenson, *Poems of American History*, p. 409. See also "A War Hymn," by Theodore Tilton, in *Douglass' Monthly*, November, 1862, in which the poet made a fervent plea to the Supreme Being for a Union victory.

²⁷ See *A Poem* (1862), by James Madison Bell, a Negro poet, who thanked

victory even though it came by a method other than that which he had hoped for, but saw in all of it the planning of a "wiser hand than man's":

"Not as we hoped; but what are we?
Above our broken dreams and plans
God lays, with wiser hand than man's,
The corner-stones of liberty.

"I cavil not with Him: the voice
That freedom's blessed gospel tells
Is sweet to me as silver bells,
Rejoicing! yea, I will rejoice!"²⁸

The same idea was expressed in an anonymous poem entitled "Corn is King," published in August, 1862. This poem also served to inspire the Northern troops by calling their attention to the condition of the Southern cotton industry:²⁹

"Southward rolls the cry of gladness
On past Washington;
Where the bond-slave stoops no longer,
But stands up, a Man!
O'er battle-fields of 'Ole Virginny,'
Floats the black man's song:
'Brudder, God is takin' vengeance
For de darkeys' wrong!
Shout, shout, for God and Freedom!
Sing, darkies, sing!
Ole Massa Cotton's dead foreber;
Young Massa Corn am king!'

"Let the tidings swell o'er ocean
To another shore,
Till proud England pales and trembles
Where she scoffed before!
Ne'er again shall serpent-friendship

God that the capital of the nation was free; explained the horrors of the Civil War as God's punishment of America for her treatment of the Africans; and concluded with a prophecy that a glorious peace would be secured when "Liberty" should be inscribed upon the banners of the Union.

²⁸ Whittier, "Astraea at the Capital" (1862), in *Poetical Works*, III, 235.

²⁹ The Southerners had overestimated the extent to which England was dependent upon their cotton, for in 1860 they believed that it was so necessary to her well-being that they could rely upon it as a means of bringing about a recognition from her of the Confederacy as a separate nation. See Channing, *A History of the United States*, VI, 337 ff.

Rise to hiss and sting!
 Cotton leagues no more with Traitors:
 Honest Corn is King!
Jubilate! God and Freedom!
 Sing, Americans, sing!
 Tyrant Cotton's dead forever!
 Honest Corn is King."³⁰

Another event that was responsible for a great many anti-slavery poems was Lincoln's issuing of the Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863.³¹ The anti-slavery poets rejoiced in this triumph of Freedom in the midst of war, anarchy, discord, slavery, and death, and predicted that rich harvests would be reaped as a result of the event.³² On the same day Emerson read in Music Hall his "Boston Hymn," and in the following month published it in the *Atlantic Monthly*. In this poem God was represented as addressing the Americans in behalf of the African, and urging the North to give him "beauty for rags" and the South "honor . . . for his shame."³³ Whittier and Holmes likewise celebrated the event. In "The Proclamation" (1863), Whittier com-

³⁰ "Corn is King," in the *Continental Monthly*, II, 237, August, 1862.

³¹ Lincoln's Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation was issued on September 22, 1862. For an interesting controversy, regarding immediate emancipation, between Horace Greeley and President Lincoln, which preceded Lincoln's Preliminary Proclamation by a little more than a month, see Greeley's "The Prayer of Twenty Million," in the *New York Tribune*, August 19, 1862, and Lincoln's reply written on August 22 and published in the *Tribune*, August 25, 1862. Greeley urged the necessity of strict enforcement of the emancipating provisions of the new Confiscation Act, contending that "every hour of deference to slavery was an hour of added and deepened peril to the Union." On September 24, two days after Lincoln's Preliminary Proclamation was issued, Greeley wrote in the *Tribune*: "Let the President know that everywhere throughout all the land he is hailed as Wisest and Best, and that by this great deed of enfranchisement to an oppressed people—a deed, the doing whereof was never before vouchsafed to any mortal ruler—he recreates a nation." Then he expressed the hope that the freedmen might use their freedom wisely and that wisdom might enter into the hearts of all the people.

³² See "National Ode," in the *Continental Monthly*, III, 554-556, May, 1863, and a poem entitled "President Lincoln's Proclamation of Emancipation," in the *Liberator*, January 2, 1863.

³³ Emerson, "Boston Hymn," in *Poems*, ed. Edward W. Emerson, pp. 203-204.

manded the freedman to arise, but to spare his oppressor—to heap “only on his head the coals of prayer”:

“Go forth like him! like him return again,
To bless the land whereon in bitter pain
Ye toiled at first,
And heal with freedom what your slavery cursed.”³⁴

In his “Hymn, after the Emancipation Proclamation” (1865), Holmes expressed joy over the emancipation of the slave, asked that assistance be given against the enemy, and that God’s healing hand be then laid upon stricken America.³⁵

Toward the close of the Civil War period there were other events which inspired expressions of sympathy for the slave. Among these were Lincoln’s defeat of McClellan for the Presidency on November 8, 1864,³⁶ the entrance of the Union troops into the city of Richmond on April 3, 1865,³⁷ the assassination of Lincoln,³⁸ and the passage of the Thir-

³⁴ Whittier, *Poetical Works*, p. 194.

³⁵ Holmes, *Complete Poetical Works*, p. 194. On January 1, 1864, at a celebration of the first anniversary of Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation, James Madison Bell delivered a long poem called *A Poem Entitled the Day and the War*. He lamented the long period of enslavement of his race, but rejoiced that with the Emancipation Proclamation he saw an end of slavery. He asked America if she had any excuse to offer for her treatment of the African and urged her to banish slavery from her realm forever. Next he attacked European governments for the sympathy and material assistance which they had given the South. Then after lauding the Negro troops for their bravery in battle, and relating a vision of the war in which were portrayed in vivid colors the horrors of a battle-field, he concluded by eulogizing the act of Lincoln in issuing the Emancipation Proclamation and predicted that when posterity should enumerate the benefactors of mankind, Lincoln’s name would be first.

³⁶ See Christopher Pearse Cranch’s poem entitled “November 8th, 1864,” in which it was predicted that the North would be victorious in the conflict, but that there would be no peace until slavery was destroyed.—Cranch, *The Bird and the Bell, with Other Poems*, pp. 313-317.

³⁷ Three days after the Union Army entered Richmond the Reverend John Pierpont, who was then eighty years old, and who for several years had been an active abolitionist, celebrated the event in a poem in which he expressed gratitude for the successes of the Union forces and the destruction of slavery, and said that he was then ready, when called, to “depart in peace.”—Pierpont, “Poem,” in the *Liberator*, November 3, 1865.

³⁸ Following the death of Lincoln on April 15, 1865, such writers as Bryant, Whitman, Holmes, Stoddard, H. T. Tuckerman, G. H. Boker, and others wrote

teenth Amendment to the Constiution of the United States. The passage of the Thirteenth Amendment abolishing slavery, the ratification of which by the requisite number of states was announced on December 18, 1865, inspired the poet Whittier's "Laus Deo" (1865). The last three stanzas of this poem may not be inappropriate as a conclusion to the last period of the abolition movement, for in them the poet spoke not only for himself, but for his many fellow-abolitionists who rejoiced with him over such a significant achievement:

"Blotted out!
All within and all about
Shall a fresher life begin;
Freer breathe the universe
As it rolls its heavy curse
On the dead and buried sin!

"It is done!
In the circuit of the sun
Shall the sound thereof go forth.
It shall bid the sad rejoice,
It shall give the dumb a voice,
It shall belt with joy the earth!

"Ring and swing,
Bells of joy! On morning's wing
Send the song of praise abroad!
With a sound of broken chains
Tell the nations that He reigns,
Who alone is Lord and God!"⁸⁹

fine tributes in verse to the martyred President, in many of which expressions of sympathy for the slave were found. See Bryant's "Death of Lincoln," written in April, 1865, and published in the *Atlantic Monthly* in January, 1866, and Boker's "Abraham Lincoln," in the *Liberator*, September 22, 1865. See also Henry Ward Beecher's "Sermon on the Death of President Lincoln," delivered in Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, April 23, 1865, and published in *Patriotic Addresses*, pp. 701-712.

⁸⁹ Whittier, "Laus Deo," in *Poetical Works*, III, 256.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The literature of America showing opposition to slavery has here been divided into five periods, each period representing a definite stage of development in the anti-slavery movement prior to 1865. The first period ended in January, 1808, when the Slave-Trade Act of 1807, which abolished the African slave-trade in theory, if not in practice, became effective; the second, in 1831, when William Lloyd Garrison published the first number of the *Liberator* and became the leading figure in the anti-slavery movement; the third, in 1850, the year of the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, the effect of which was the conversion of thousands of people to the cause of abolition; the fourth, in 1861, when the Civil War began; and the fifth, in 1865, when it closed.

Prior to 1808 such anti-slavery sentiment as appeared in the literature of America reflected admirably the spirit of the time. It was based chiefly upon moral, religious, social, economic, and sentimental grounds and was expressed in all of the popular literary forms of the period. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the literature itself was for the most part didactic and religious, the arguments against slavery were most often moral and religious. The Puritans and Quakers were the best representatives of this kind of opposition, though in the latter part of the period other writers made use of it to great advantage. The Puritans, being concerned primarily with the moral and religious instruction of the slave, theorized regarding his freedom, but took very few definite steps toward universal emancipation. The Quakers, on the other hand, were interested not only in the moral and religious welfare of the slave, but also in his being accorded every privilege of an American citizen; consequently, they liberated their own slaves and urged others to do likewise. From the latter part of the eighteenth century until the abolition of the slave-trade in January, 1808, much of the opposition to slavery was colored by the

political philosophy of the time. The doctrine of the natural and inalienable rights of man, which was being proclaimed on every hand, was made to apply also to the slave. Opposition on social, economic, and sentimental grounds appeared also in the literature of this period. Early in the period many writers who may have had no special interest in or sympathy for the African felt that his presence in America would eventually have a detrimental effect upon the social and economic condition of the white people who lived where slavery existed; and so, opposed it. Then there were others who opposed it out of sheer sympathy for the slave and used all of the persuasive powers at their command to win over those who held opposite views. As these writers came more and more under the influence of the sentimentalism of European writers, this kind of opposition to slavery became more prevalent, and between 1770 and 1800 colored much of the anti-slavery literature of America. With the formation of anti-slavery societies in several of the states between 1775 and the close of the century, the efforts of the abolitionists were united and the production of anti-slavery literature was greatly stimulated. Up to about the last decade of the eighteenth century the chief literary forms through which anti-slavery sentiment had been expressed were poetry and the essay. At that time the novel and the drama supplemented these, giving to the abolitionists additional means with which to spread their doctrine. With few exceptions, plans for the emancipation of the slaves prior to 1808 provided for gradual emancipation. Many of these also included suggestions for colonizing free Negroes in Africa, the West Indies, or elsewhere.

In the second or transition period of the abolition movement (1808-1831) opposition to slavery, so far as American literature is concerned, was less extensive and on the whole more mild in tone than that of the first period. It was based upon moral, religious, sentimental, social, and economic grounds and appeared in all of the popular literary forms of the day. During the latter part of the period it increased in

severity, reaching its height between 1829 and 1831, when William Lloyd Garrison became the leading figure in the abolition movement. Expressions of anti-slavery sentiment before 1831 were not confined to any one section of the country, but appeared in Southern as well as in Northern literature. At this time the majority of abolitionists still favored colonization and gradual emancipation, though the number of advocates of immediatism was rapidly increasing. The period was one of preparation for the long struggle which began with the publication of the first number of Garrison's *Liberator* on January 1, 1831, and continued with unrelenting severity until slavery was abolished.

The third period (1831-1850) became the first stage in the development of the new abolitionism which was begun by Garrison in 1831 and which reached its height in 1861, when the Civil War began. After 1831 very little sentiment against slavery appeared in the literature of the South. In the North, on the other hand, it steadily grew in extent and in intensity. The rapid increase in the number of anti-slavery societies systematized the work of the abolitionists and inspired the production of an enormous amount of anti-slavery literature. The bitterness already existing between the abolitionists and the slaveholders was intensified by the efforts of the abolitionists to assist fugitive slaves in escaping from their masters. The chief anti-slavery arguments, which appeared in all of the popular literary forms of the period, were moral, religious, social, economic, and sentimental. Throughout the period there were ardent advocates of immediate emancipation and bitter opponents of colonization, in which many saw an attempt on the part of slaveholders and their abettors to facilitate the holding of slaves by ridding the country of the free Negroes.

In the second stage of the new abolitionism (1850-1861), anti-slavery sentiment in the literature of America was greater and more effective than in any other period of the abolition movement. The passage of the Fugitive Slave Act on September 18, 1850, and the subsequent attempts to en-

force it revealed slavery in one of its worst forms and gave rise to most of the anti-slavery literary productions of the period. Here, again, the most significant arguments were moral, religious, and sentimental; yet strong pleas for the abolition of slavery as a social and economic necessity were not lacking. Of the various literary forms through which this opposition was expressed, the novel was the most popular. Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was the first significant reaction in literature to the attempts to enforce the Fugitive Slave Act, and furnished most of the effective methods by which subsequent writers attacked slavery. It presented the evils of slavery more effectively and called for its destruction more urgently than any other single production of the period. As a result, thousands of persons hitherto hostile or indifferent to abolition were converted to the cause. The spirit of defiance which characterized much of the anti-slavery literature of the period suggested strongly the break which was to come in 1861.

The fifth and last period of the abolition movement, as reflected in the literature of America, extended from the beginning to the end of the Civil War. In this period opposition to slavery on moral, religious, social, economic, and political grounds found fullest and most effective expression in the novel; whereas the sentimental appeals for the freedom of the slave appeared for the most part in the poetry of the period. Since most of these productions were inspired by events of the Civil War, they reflected admirably the spirit of the time and gave encouragement to the Union soldiers. Such events as the firing upon Fort Sumter, the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, the issuing of the Emancipation Proclamation, the death of Lincoln, and the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States inspired most of the anti-slavery literature of the period.

LORENZO DOW TURNER

Professor of English, Fisk University

DOCUMENTS

THE CORRESPONDENT, NO. 8¹

By

JOHN TRUMBULL

(From the *Connecticut Journal and New Haven Post-Boy*,
July 6, 1770)

It is strange that any persons should be so infatuated, as to deny the right of enslaving the black inhabitants of Africa. I cannot look on silently and see this inestimable privilege, which hath been handed down inviolable from our ancestors, wrenched out of our hands, by a few men of squeamish consciences, that will not allow them, or others peaceably to enjoy it. I therefore engage in the dispute and make no doubt of proving to every unprejudiced mind, that we have a natural, moral, and divine right of enslaving the Africans.

I shall pass over the arguments drawn from the gradation of things throughout the universe, and the privilege every creature naturally enjoys, of trampling upon those, who stand below him in the scale of being. For I must confess, however oddly it may sound, that after a long course of observations upon the conduct of mankind, and many nice calculations upon the magnitude and density of human nature in different latitudes, I am much in doubt, whether there be any thing in our boasted original superiority.

It is positively foretold in the scriptures, that the children of Ham, should be servants of servants to their brethren. Now if our adversaries will but allow these two points, that a prophecy concerning any thing that shall be done, may be construed into a permission for the doing of it, and that the Africans are the children of Ham, which is plain from their being servants of servants to their brethren; the controversy is brought to a point, and there needs nothing further to be said upon the subject.

Besides, was not the slave trade carried on exactly in the same manner, by Abraham and several other good patriarchs, whom we read of in ancient history? Those gentlemen will doubtless be al-

¹ This essay, now very rare, appeared in the *Connecticut Journal and New Haven Post-Boy* on July 6, 1770. It can be found in the Yale University Library and in the Library of Congress.

lowed to have been perfect patterns and examples. (N.B. I am not now speaking concerning the cases of divorce and polygamy.)

The whole world is the property of the righteous; consequently the Africans, being infidels and heretics, may rightly be considered as lawful plunder.

I come now to the most weighty part of the argument; and that it may be conducted with due decorum, I desire my readers to lay their hands on their hearts, and answer me to this serious question, Is not the enslaving of these people the most charitable act in the world? With no other end in view than to bring those poor creatures to Christian ground, and within hearing of the gospel, we spare no expense of time or money, we send many thousand miles across the dangerous seas, and think all our toil and pains well rewarded. We endure the greatest fatigues of body, and much unavoidable trouble of conscience, in carrying on this pious design; we deprive them of their liberty, we force them from their friends, their country and every thing dear to them in the world; despising the laws of nature, and infringing upon the rules of morality. So much are we filled with disinterested [*sic*] benevolence! so far are we carried away with the noble ardor, the generous enthusiasm of Christianizing the heathen! And are they not bound by all the ties of gratitude, to devout [*sic*] their whole lives to our service, as the only reward that can be adequate to our superabundant charity?

I am sensible that some persons may doubt whether so much pains be taken in teaching them the principles of Christianity; but we are able to prove it not only by our constant assertions, that this is our sole motive, but by many instances of learned pious negroes. I myself have heard of no less than three, who know half the letters of the alphabet, and have made considerable advances in the Lord's prayer and catechism. In general, I confess they are scarcely so learned; which deficiency we do not charge to the fault of any one, but have the good nature to attribute it merely to their natural stupidity; and dulness of intellect.

But with regard to morality, I believe we may defy any people in the world to come into competition with them: There is among them no such thing as luxury, idleness, gaming, prodigality, and a thousand such like vices, which are wholly monopolized by their masters. No people are more flagrant examples of patience, forbearance, justice and a forgiving temper of mind, &c. And none are

so liberally endowed with that extensive charity, which the scriptures tell us, endureth all things.

I would just observe that there are many other nations in the world, whom we have equal right to enslave, and who stand in as much need of Christianity, as these poor Africans. Not to mention the Chinese, the Tartars, or the Laplanders, with many others, who would scarcely pay the trouble of Christianizing, I would observe that the Turks and the Papists, are very numerous in the world, and that it would go a great way towards the millennium, if we should transform them to Christians.

I propose at first, and by way of trial, in this laudable scheme, that two vessels be sent, one to Rome, and the other to Constantinople, to fetch off the Pope and the Grand Signior; I make no doubt but the public, convinced of the legality of the thing, and filled to the brim, with the charitable design of enslaving infidels, will readily engage in such an enterprise. For my part, would my circumstances permit, I would be ready to lead in the adventure and should promise myself certain success, with the assistance of a select company, of seamen concerned in the African trade. But at present, I can only shew my zeal, by promising when the affair is concluded, and the captives brought ashore, to set apart several hours in every day, when their masters can spare them, for instructing the Pope in his creed, and teaching the Grand Signior, to say his catechism.

“M. L.”¹

BY

LOUISA M. ALCOTT

(From the Boston *Commonwealth*, January 24-February 21, 1863)

CHAPTER I

“The sun set—but not his hope :
Stars rose—his face was earlier up :
He spoke, and words more soft than rain
Brought back the Age of Gold again :
His action won such reverence sweet,
As hid all measure of the feat.”

¹ This story was published serially in the Boston *Commonwealth* between January 24 and February 21, 1863. The numbers of the *Commonwealth* in which it appeared are in the Boston Athenaeum Library and are exceedingly rare. Miss Alcott had endeavored to have the story published as early as 1860,

“Hush! let me listen.”

Mrs. Snowden ceased her lively gossip, obedient to the command, and leaning her head upon her hand, Claudia sat silent.

Like a breath of purer air, the music floated through the room, bringing an exquisite delight to the gifted few, and stirring the dulllest nature with a sense of something nobler than it knew. Frivolous women listened mutely, pleasure-seeking men confessed its charm, world-worn spirits lived again the better moments of their lives, and wounded hearts found in it a brief solace for the griefs so jealously concealed. At its magic touch the masks fell from many faces and a momentary softness made them fair, eye met eye with rare sincerity, false smiles faded, vapid conversation died abashed, and for a little space, Music, the divine enchantress, asserted her supremacy, wooing tenderly as any woman, ruling royally as any queen.

Like water in a desert place, Claudia's thirsty spirit drank in the silver sounds that fed her ear, and through the hush they came to her like a remembered strain. Their varying power swayed her like a wizard's wand, its subtle softness wrapped her senses in a blissful calm, its passion thrilled along her nerves like south winds full of an aroma fiery and sweet, its energy stirred her blood like martial music or heroic speech,—for this mellow voice seemed to bring her the low sigh of pines, the ardent breath of human lips, the grand anthem of the sea. It held her fast, and lifting her above the narrow bounds of time and place, blessed her with a loftier mood than she had ever known before, for midsummer night and warmth seemed born of it, and her solitary nature yearned to greet the genial influence as frost-bound grasses spring to meet the sun.

What the song was, she never heard, she never cared to know; to other ears it might be love-lay, barcarole, or miserere for the dead,—to her it was a melody devout and sweet as saintliest hymn, for it had touched the chords of that diviner self whose aspirations are the flowers of life, it had soothed the secret pain of a proud spirit, it had stirred the waters of a lonely heart, and from their depths a new born patience rose with healing on its wings.

Silent she sat, one hand above her eyes, the other lying in her lap, unmoved since with her last words it rose and fell. The singer

for in February of that year she wrote in her Journal: “Mr. ——— won't have ‘M.L.,’ as it is antislavery and the dear South must not be offended.”—In Ednah D. Cheney, *Louisa May Alcott: Her Life, Letters and Journals*, p. 98.

had been forgotten in the song, but as the music with triumphant swell soared upward and grew still, the spell was broken, the tide of conversation flowed again, and with an impatient sigh, Claudia looked up and saw her happy dream depart.

"Who is this man? you told me but I did not hear."

With the eagerness of a born gossip, Mrs. Snowden whispered the tale a second time in her friend's ear.

"This man (as you would never call him had you seen him) is a Spaniard, and of noble family, I'm sure, though he denies it. He is poor, of course,—these interesting exiles always are,—he teaches music, and though an accomplished gentleman and as proud as if the 'blue blood' of all the grandees of Spain flowed in his veins, he will not own to any rank, but steadily asserts that he is 'plain Paul Frere, trying honestly to earn his bread, and nothing more.' Ah, you like that, and the very thing that disappoints me most, will make the man a hero in your eyes."

"Honesty is an heroic virtue, and I honor it wherever it is found. What further, Jessie?" and Claudia looked a shade more interested than when the chat began.

"Only that in addition to his charming voice, he is a handsome soul, beside whom our pale-faced gentlemen look boyish and insipid to a mortifying degree. Endless romances are in progress, of which he may be the hero if he will, but unfortunately for his fair pupils the fine eyes of their master seem blind to any 'tremolo movements' but those set down in the book; and he hears them warble '*O mio Fernando*' in the tenderest of spoken languages as tranquilly as if it were a nursery song. He leads a solitary life, devoted to his books and art, and rarely mixes in the society of which I think him a great ornament. This is all I know concerning him, and if you ever care to descend from your Mont Blanc of cool indifference, I fancy this minstrel will pay you for the effort. Look! that is he, the dark man with the melancholy eyes; deign to give me your opinion of my modern 'Thaddeus.'"

Claudia looked well, and, as she did so, vividly before her mind's eye rose a picture she had often pondered over when a child.

A painting of a tropical island, beautiful with the bloom and verdure of the South. An ardent sky, flushed with sunrise canopied the scene, palm trees lifted their crowned heads far into the fervid air, orange groves dropped dark shadows on the sward where flowers in rank luxuriance glowed like spires of flame, or shone like stars

among the green. Bright-hued birds swung on vine and bough, dainty gazelles lifted their human eyes to greet the sun, and a summer sea seemed to flow low—singing to the bloomy shore. The first blush and dewiness of dawn lay over the still spot, but looking nearer, the eye saw that the palm's green crowns were rent, the vines hung torn as if by ruthless gusts, and the orange boughs were robbed of half their wealth, for fruit and flowers lay thick upon the sodden earth. Far on the horizon's edge, a thunderous cloud seemed rolling westward, and on the waves an ominous wreck swayed with the swaying of the treacherous sea.

Claudia saw a face that satisfied her eye as the voice had done her ear, and yet its comeliness was not its charm. Black locks streaked an ample forehead, black brows arched finely over southern eyes as full of softness as of fire. No color marred the pale bronze of the cheek, no beard hid the firm contour of the lips, no unmeaning smile destroyed the dignity of a thoughtful countenance, on which nature's hand had set the seal wherewith she stamps the manhood that no art can counterfeit.

But as she searched it deeper, Claudia saw upon the forehead lines that seldom come to men of thirty, in the eye the shadow of some past despair, and about the closely folded lips traces of an impetuous nature tamed by suffering and taught by time. Here, as in the picture, the tempest seemed to have gone by, but though a gracious day had come, the cloud had left a shade behind. Sweet winds came wooingly from off the shore, and the sea serenely smiled above the wreck, but a vague unrest still stirred the air, and an undertone of human woe still whispered through the surges' song.

"So Dante might have looked before his genius changed the crown of thorns into a crown of roses for the woman he loved," thought Claudia, then said aloud in answer to her friend's last words,

"Yes, I like that face, less for its beauty than its strength. I like that austere simplicity of dress, that fine unconsciousness of self, and more than all I like the courtesy with which he listens to the poorest, plainest, least attractive woman in the room. Laugh, if you will, Jessie, I respect him more for his kindness to neglected Mary Low, than if for a fairer woman he had fought as many battles as Saint George. This is true courtesy, and it is the want of this reverence for womanhood in itself, which makes many of our so-

called gentlemen what they are, and robs them of one attribute of real manliness."

"Heaven defend us! here is an Alpine avalanche of praise from our Diana! Come, be made known to this Endymion before you can congeal again," cried Jessie; for Claudia's words were full of energy, and in her eye shone an interest that softened its cold brilliancy and gave her countenance the warmth which was the charm it needed most. Claudia went, and soon found herself enjoying the delights of conversation in the finer sense of that word. Paul Frere did not offer her the stale compliments men usually think it proper to bestow upon a woman, as if her mind were like a dainty purse too limited for any small coin of any worth, nor did he offer her the witty gossips current in society, which, like crisp bank bills, rustle pleasantly, and are accepted as a "counterfeit presentiment," of that silver speech, which should marry sound to sense. He gave her sterling gold, that rang true to the ear, and bore the stamp of genuine belief, for unconsciously he put himself into his words, and made them what they should be,—the interpreters of one frank nature to another.

He took the few pale phantoms custom has condemned to serve as subjects of discourse between a man and a woman in a place like that, and giving them vitality and color, they became the actors of his thought, and made a living drama of that little hour. Yet he was no scholar erudite and polished by long study or generous culture. Adversity had been his college, experience his tutor, and life the book whose lessons stern and salutary he had learned with patient pain. Real wrong and suffering and want had given him a knowledge no philosopher could teach, real danger and desolation had lifted him above the petty fears that take the heroism out of daily life, and a fiery baptism had consecrated heart and mind and soul to one great aim, beside which other men's ambitions seemed most poor. This was the secret charm he owned, this gave the simplicity that dignified his manner, the sincerity that won in his address; this proved the supremacy of character over culture, opulence and rank, and made him what he was—a man to command respect and confidence and love.

Dimly Claudia saw, and vaguely felt all this in that brief interview; but when it ended, she wished it were to come again, and felt as if she had left the glare and glitter of the stage whereon she played her part, for a moment had put off her mask to sit down in the

ruddy circle of a household fire where little shadows danced upon the walls, and tender tones made common speech divine.

"It will be gone tomorrow, this pleasure beautiful and brief, and I shall fall back into my old disappointment again, as I have always done before"; she sighed within herself. Yet when she sat alone in her own home, it seemed no longer solitary, and like a happy child she lulled herself to sleep with fitful snatches of a song she had never heard but once.

CHAPTER II

Claudia stood alone in the world, a woman of strong character and independent will, gifted with beauty, opulence and position, possessing the admiration and esteem of many, the affection of a few whose love was worth desiring. All these good gifts were hers, and yet she was not satisfied. Home ties she had never known, mother-love had only blessed her long enough to make its loss most keenly felt, the sweet confidence of sisterhood had never warmed her with its innocent delights, "father" and "brother" were unknown words upon her lips, for she had never known the beauty and the strength of man's most sincere affection.

Many hands had knocked at the closed door, but knocked in vain, for the master had not come, and true to her finer instincts, Claudia would not make a worldly marriage or try to cheat her hunger into a painted feast. She would have all or nothing, and when friends urged or lovers pleaded, she answered steadily:

"I cannot act a lie, and receive where I have nothing to bestow. If I am to know the blessedness of love, it will come to me, and I can wait."

Love repaid her loyalty at last. Through the close-scented air of the conservatory where she had lived a solitary plant, there came a new influence, like a breath of ocean air, both strengthening and sweet. Then the past ceased to be a mournful memory; for over her lost hopes, the morning glories that had early died,—over her eager desires, the roses that had never bloomed—over broken friendships, the nests whence all the birds were flown—a pleasant twilight seemed to fall, and across the sombre present came the ruddy herald of a future dawn. It brought the magic moment when the flower could bloom, the master's hand whose touch unbarred the door, the charmed voice that woke the sleeping princess, and sang to her of

"That new world, which is the old".

In "plain Paul Frere," Claudia found her hero, recognized her king, although like Bruce he came in minstrel guise and accepted royally the alms bestowed.

Slowly, by rare interviews, the swift language of the eye, and music's many wiles, Paul caught deeper glimpses into Claudia's solitary life, and felt the charm of an earnest nature shining through the maidenly reserve that veiled it from his search. He sang to her, and singing, watched the still fire that kindled in her eye, the content that touched her lips with something softer than a smile, the warmth that stole so beautifully to her face, melting the pride that chilled it, banishing the weariness that saddened it, and filling it with light, and hope, and bloom, as if at his command the woman's sorrows fell away and left a happy girl again. It was a dangerous power to wield, but with the consciousness of its possession came a sentiment that curbed a strong man's love of power, and left the subject to a just man's love of right.

He denied himself the happiness of ministering to Claudia the frequent feasts she loved, for it was offering her a wine more subtle than she knew, a wine whose potency her friend already felt. He seldom sang to her alone, but conversation was a rich reward for this renunciation, for in those hours, beautiful and brief, he found an interest that "grew by what it fed on," and soon felt that it was fast becoming sweeter to receive than to bestow.

Claudia was a student of like dangerous lore, for she too scanned her new friend warily and well; often with keen perceptions divining what she dared not seek, with swift instincts feeling what she could not see. Her first judgments had been just, her first impressions never changed. For each month of increasing friendship, was one of increasing honor and esteem.

This man who earned his bread, and asked no favors where he might have demanded many, who would accept no fictitious rank, listen to no flattering romance, who bore the traces of a fateful past, yet showed no bitterness of spirit, but went his way steadfastly, living to some high end unseen by human eyes, yet all-sustaining in itself,—this man seemed to Claudia the friend she had desired, for here she found a character built up by suffering and time, an eager intellect aspiring for the true, and valiant spirit looking straight and strong into the world.

To her ear the music of his life became more beautiful than any lay he sang, and on his shield her heart inscribed the fine old lines,

“Lord of himself, though not of lands,
And having nothing, yet hath all.”

CHAPTER III

One balmy night, when early flowers were blossoming in Claudia's garden, and the west wind was the almoner of their sweet charities, she sat looking with thoughtful eyes into the shadowy stillness of the hour.

Miss Blank, the mild nonentity who played propriety in Claudia's house, had been absorbed into the darkness of an inner room, where sleep might descend upon her weary eyelids without an open breach of that decorum which was the good soul's staff of life.

Paul Frere, leaning in the shadow, looked down upon the bent head whereon the May moon dropped a shining benediction; and as he looked, his countenance grew young again with hope, and fervent with a strong desire. Silence had fallen on them, for watching *her*, Paul forgot to speak, and Claudia was plucking leaf after leaf from a flower that had strayed from among the knot that graced her breast. One by one the crimson petals fluttered to the ground, and as she saw them fall a melancholy shadow swept across her face.

“What has the rose done that its life should be so short?” her friend asked as the last leaf left her hand.

As if the words recalled her to the present, Claudia looked at the dismantled stem, saying regretfully, “I forgot the flower, and now I have destroyed it with no skill to make it live again.” She paused a moment, then added smiling as if at her own fancies, though the regretful cadence lingered in her voice, “This is my birth-night, and thinking of my past, the rose ceased to be a rose to me, and became a little symbol of my life. Each leaf I gathered seemed a year, and as it fell I thought how fast, how vainly, they had gone. They should have been fairer in aspirations, fuller of duties, richer in good deeds, happier in those hopes that make existence sweet, but now it is too late. Poor rose! Poor life!” and from the smiling lips there fell a sigh.

Paul took the relic of the rose, and with a gesture soft as a caress, broke from the stem a little bud just springing from its mossy sheath, saying with a glance as full of cheer as hers had been of despondency, “My friend, it never is too late. Out of the loneliest life may bloom a higher beauty than the lost rose knew. Let the first sanguine petals fall, their perfume will remain a pleasant

memory when they are dead ; but cherish the fairer flower that comes so late, nurture it with sunshine, baptise it with dew, and though the garden never knows it more, it may make summer in some shady spot and bless a household with its breath and bloom. I have no gift wherewith to celebrate this night, but let me give you back a happier emblem of the life to be, and with it a prophecy that when another six and twenty years are gone, no sigh will mar your smile as you look back and say, 'Fair rose! Fair life!'

Claudia looked up with traitorous eyes, and answered softly—"I accept the prophecy, and will fulfil it, if the black frost does not fall." Then with a wistful glance and all persuasive tone, she added, "You have forgotten one gift always in your power to bestow. Give it to me to-night, and usher in my happier years with music."

There was no denial to a request like that, and with a keen sense of delight Paul obeyed, singing as he had never sung before, for heart and soul were in the act, and all benignant influences lent their aid to beautify his gift. The silence of the night received the melody, and sent it whispering back like ripples breaking on the shore; the moonbeams danced like elves upon the keys, as if endowing human touch with their magnetic power; the west wind tuned its leafy orchestra to an airy symphony, and every odorous shrub and flower paid tribute to the happy hour.

With drooping lids and lips apart, Claudia listened, till on the surges of sweet sound her spirit floated far away into that blissful realm where human aspirations are fulfilled, where human hearts find their ideals, and renew again the innocent beliefs that made their childhood green.

Silence fell suddenly, startling Claudia from her dream. For a moment the radiance of the room grew dark before her eyes, then a swift light dawned, and in it she beheld the countenance of her friend transfigured by the power of that great passion which heaven has gifted with eternal youth. For a long moment nothing stirred, and across the little space that parted them the two regarded one another with wordless lips, but eyes whose finer language made all speech impertinent.

Paul bent on the woman whom he loved a look more tender than the most impassioned prayer, more potent than the subtlest appeal, more eloquent than the most fervent vow. He saw the maiden color flush and fade, saw the breath quicken and the lips grow tremulous, but the steadfast eyes never wavered, never fell, and through those

windows of the soul, her woman's heart looked out and answered him.

There was no longer any doubt or fear or power to part them now, and with a gesture full of something nobler than Pride, Paul stretched his hand to Claudia, and she took it fast in both her own.

To a believer in metempsychosis it would have been an easy task to decide the last shape Mrs. Snowden had endowed with life, for the old fable of the "cat transformed into a woman," might have been again suggested to a modern Aesop.

Soft of manner, smooth of tongue, stealthy of eye, this feline lady followed out the instincts of her nature with the fidelity of any veritable puss. With demure aspect and pleasant purrings she secured the admiration of innocents who forgot that velvet paws could scratch, and the friendship of comfortable souls who love to pet and be amused. Daintily picking her way through the troubles of this life, she slipped into cosy corners where rugs were softest and fires warmest, gambolling delightfully while the cream was plentiful, and the caresses graciously bestowed. Gossips and scandal were the rats and mice she feasted on, the prey she paraded with ill-disguised exultation when her prowlings and pouncings had brought them to light. Many a smart robin had been fascinated by her power, or escaping left his plumes behind; many a meek mouse had implored mercy for its indiscretion but found none, and many a blithe cricket's music ended when she glided through the grass. Dark holes and corners were hunted by her keen eye, the dust of forgotten rumors was disturbed by her covert tread, and secrets were hunted out with most untiring patience.

She had her enemies, what puss has not? Sundry honest mastiffs growled when she entered their domains, but scorned to molest a weaker foe; sundry pugs barked valiantly till she turned on them and with un-sheathed claws administered a swift quietus to their wrath; sundry jovial squirrels cracked their jokes and flourished defiance, but skipped nimbly from her way, and chattered on a bow she could not climb. More than one friend had found the pantry pillaged, and the milk of human kindness lapped dry by an indefatigable tongue; and yet no meeker countenance lifted its pensive eyes in church, no voice more indignantly rebuked the shortcomings of her race, and no greater martyr bewailed ingratitude when doors were shut upon her, and stern housewives shouted "seat!"

Wifehood and widowhood had only increased her love of free-

dom and confirmed her love of power. Claudia pitied her, and when others blamed, defended or excused, for her generous nature had no knowledge of duplicity or littleness of soul. Jessie seemed all candor, and though superficial, was full of winning ways and tender confidences that seemed sincere, and very pleasant to the other's lonely heart. So Jessie haunted her friend's house, rode triumphantly in her carriage, made a shield of her regard, and disported herself at her expense, till a stronger force appeared, and the widow's reign abruptly ended.

The May moon had shown on Claudia's betrothal, and the harvest moon would shine upon her marriage. The months passed like a happy dream, and the midsummer of her life was in its prime. The stir and tattle that went on about her was like an idle wind, for she had gone out of the common world and believed that she cared little for its censure or its praise. What mattered it that Paul was poor—was she not rich? What mattered it that she knew little of his past—had she not all the present and the future for her own? What cared she for the tongues that called him "fortune-hunter", and herself romantic? he possessed a better fortune than any she could give, and she was blessed with a romance that taught her wiser lessons than reality had ever done. So they went their way, undisturbed by any wind that blew. Paul still gave her lessons, still retained his humble home as if no change had befallen him, and Claudia with all her energies alert, bestirred herself to "set her house in order, and make ready for the bridegroom's coming." But as each night fell, patient Teacher, busy Housewife vanished, and two lovers met. The sun set on all their cares, and twilight shed a peace upon them softer than the dew, for Joy was the musician now, and Love the fairy hostess of the guests who made high festival of that still hour.

The months had dwindled to a week, and in the gloaming of a sultry day, Paul came early to his tryst. Claudia was detained by lingering guests, and with a frown at their delay, her lover paced the room until she should come. Pausing suddenly in his restless march, Paul drew a letter from his breast and read it slowly as if his thoughts had been busy with its contents. It was a letter of many pages, written in decided characters, worn as if with frequent reading, and as he turned it his face wore a look it had never shown to Claudia's eyes. With a sudden impulse he raised his right hand to the light, and scanned it with a strange scrutiny. Across the

palm stretched a wide purple scar, the relic of some wound healed long ago, but not effaced by time. Claudia had once asked as she caressed it what blow had left so deep a trace, and he had answered with a sudden clenching of the hand, a sudden fire in the eye, "Claudia, it is the memorial of a victory I won ten years ago; it was a righteous battle, but its memory is bitter. Let it sleep; and believe me, it is an honest hand, or I could never look in your true face and give it you again.

She had been content, and never touched the sad past by a word, for she wholly trusted where she wholly loved.

As Paul looked thoughtfully at that right hand of his, the left dropped at his side, and from among the loosely held papers, a single sheet escaped, and fluttered noiselessly among the white folds of the draperies, that swept the floor. The stir of departing feet aroused him from his reverie; with a quick gesture he crushed the letter, and lit it at the Roman lamp that always burned for him. Slowly the fateful pages shrivelled and grew black; silently he watched them burn, and when the last flame flickered and went out, he gathered up the ashes and gave them to the keeping of the wind. Then all the shadows faded from his face, and left the old composure there.

Claudia's voice called from below, and with the ardor of a boy he sprang down to meet the welcome he was hungering for.

As the door closed behind him, from the gloom of that inner room Jessie Snowden stole out and seized her prize. Listening with sharpened sense for any coming step, she swept the page with her keen eye, gathering its meaning before a dozen lines were read. The paper rustled with the tremor of her hand, and for a moment the room spun dizzily before her as she dropped into a seat, and sat staring straight into the air with a countenance where exultation and bewilderment were strangely blended. "Poor Claudia," was the first thought that took shape in her mind, but a harder one usurped its place, and ominous glitter shone in her black eyes, as she muttered with a wicked smile, "I owe him this, and he shall have it."

An hour later Paul and Claudia sat in that same spot together, not yet content, for opposite still lounged Jessie Snowden, showing no symptoms of departure. Her cheek burned with a brilliant color, her black eyes glittered with repressed excitement and in gesture, look and tone there was a peculiar sharpness as if every sense were

unwontedly alert, every nerve unwontedly high strung. She was not loquacious, but seemed waiting till speech would take effect; for all her feline instincts were awake, and she must torture a little before she dealt the blow. She knew the lovers wished her gone, yet still sat watchful and wary, till the auspicious moment came.

Paul was restless, for his southern temperament, more keenly alive to subtle influences than colder natures, vaguely warned him of the coming blow, unwillingly yielded to the baleful power it could not comprehend, unconsciously betrayed that Jessie's presence brought disquiet, and so doing placed a weapon in her hand, which she did not fail to use. Her eye was on him constantly, with a glance that stirred him like an insult, while it held him like a spell. His courtesy was sorely tried, for whether he spoke or was mute, moved about the room or sat with averted face, he felt that eye still on him, with a look of mingled hatred, pity and contempt. He confronted it and bore it down; but when he turned, it rose again and haunted him with its aggressive shine. He fixed his regard on Claudia, and so forgot for a time, but it was always there and proved itself no fancy of a tired brain.

Claudia was weary and grudged the quiet hour which always left her refreshed, when no unwelcome presence marred its charm. She was unutterably tired of Jessie, and if a wish could have secured her absence, she would have vanished with the speed of a stage sprite at the wizard's will.

"Is't the old pain, Paul? Let me play Desdemona, and bind my handkerchief about your forehead as I have done before," and Claudia's voice soothed the ear with unspoken love.

Paul had leaned his head upon his hand, but as she spoke he lifted it and answered cheerfully, "I have no pain, but something in the atmosphere oppresses me. I fancy there is thunder in the air".

"There is"—and Jessie laughed a laugh that had no mirth in it, as she sat erect with sudden interest in her voice.

Paul swept aside the curtain, and looked out; the sky was cloudless and the evening star hung luminous and large on the horizon's edge.

"Ah, you think I am a false prophet, but wait an hour then look again. I see a fierce storm rolling up, though the cloud is 'no bigger than a man's hand' now".

As she spoke Jessie's eye glanced across the hand Paul had extended for the fan which Claudia was offering; he did not see the look, but unfurling the daintily carved toy, answered calmly as the stirred air cooled the fever of his cheek: "I cannot doubt you, Mrs. Snowden, for you look truly sibylline tonight; but if you read the future with such a gifted eye, can you not find us a fairer future than your storm foretells?"

"Did you ever know before that there was gipsy blood in my veins, and that I possessed the gipsy's power of second sight? Shall I use it, and tell your fortune like a veritable witch? May I, Claudia?"

Jessie's friend looked at her with a touch of wonder; for the flush was deepening on her cheek, the fire kindling in her eyes, and her whole aspect seemed to stir and brighten like a snake's before it springs.

"If Paul pleases I should like to hear your 'rede,' and we will cross your palm with silver by and by. Indeed I think the inspired phrenzy is descending upon you, Jessie, for you look like an electric battery fully charged, and I dare not touch you lest I should receive a shock," Claudia answered, smiling at the sudden change.

"I *am* a battery to-night, and you *may* have your shock whenever you please. Come, Mr. Frere, your sovereign consents, come and let me try my power—if you dare."

A slight frown contracted Paul's brows, and a disdainful smile flitted across his lips; but Claudia waited and he silently obeyed.

Not this hand, fate lies only in the *right*."

"Jessie, take mine instead, our fortunes henceforth will be the same!" cried Claudia, with eager voice remembering the mark Paul never showed.

But Jessie only laughed the metallic laugh again, clear and sharp as the jangle of a bell; and with a gesture of something like defiance Paul stretched his right hand to her, while the disdainful smile still sat upon his lips. Jessie did not touch it, but bent and scanned it eagerly, though nothing could be seen but the wide scar across the shapely palm.

A dead silence fell upon the three. Paul stood composed and motionless, Jessie paled visibly, and the quick throb of her heart grew audible, but Claudia felt the pain of that rude scrutiny, and leaning toward them asked impatiently, "Sibyl, what do you read?"

Jessie swayed slowly backward, and looking up at the defiant face

above her, answered in a whisper that cut the silence like a knife.

"I see two letters,—M. L."

Paul did not start, his countenance did not change, but the fan dropped shattered from his grasp—the only sign that he had heard. Claudia's eyes were on them, but she could not speak, and the sibilant whisper came again.

"I know it all, for *this* remained to tell the secret, and *I* am the master now. See here!" and with a peal of laughter Jessie threw the paper at his feet.

CHAPTER IV

Paul gave one glance at the crumpled sheet, then turned on her with a look that sent her trembling to the door, as a gust would sweep a thistle down before it. It was the look of a hunted creature, driven to bay; wrath, abhorrence, and despair stirred the strong man's frame, looked out at his desperate eye, strengthened his uplifted arm, and had not his opponent been a woman some swift retribution would have fallen on her, for there was murder in his fiery blood.

Claudia sprang to his side, and at the touch of those restraining hands a stern pallor settled on his countenance, a hard-won self-control quenched his passion, a bitter truth confronted his despair, and left him desolate but not degraded. His eye fixed on Jessie, and its hopelessness was more eloquent than a torrent of entreaties, its contempt more keen than the sharpest reproach.

"Go," he said with a strange hush in his voice, "I ask nothing of you, for I know you would be merciless to me; but if there be any compassion, any touch of nobleness in your nature you will spare your friend, remembering what she has been to you. Go, and mar my hard-won reputation as you will, the world's condemnation I will not accept, my judge is *here*."

"There will be no need of silence a week hence when the marriage day comes around and there is no bridegroom for the bride. I foretold the storm, and it has come; heaven help you through it, Claudia. Good night, pleasant dreams, and a fair tomorrow!"

Jessie Snowden tried to look exultant, but her white lips would not smile, and though the victory was hers she crept away like one who has suffered defeat.

Paul locked the door behind her, and turning, looked at Claudia with a world of anguish in his altered face. She moved as if to go to him, but a gesture arrested her, and uttering a broken exclamation

Paul struck his scarred hand on the chimney piece with a force that left it bruised and bleeding, and dropping his hot forehead on the marble stood silent, struggling with a grief that had no solace.

Claudia paused a moment, mute and pale, watching the bowed figure and the red drops as they fell, then she went to him, and holding the wounded palm as if it were a suffering child, she laid her cheek to his, whispering tenderly: "Paul, you said this was an honest hand and I believe it still. There should not be a grain of dust between us two,—deal frankly with me now, and let me comfort you."

Paul lifted up his face wan with the tearless sorrow of a man, and gathering the beloved comforter close to his sore heart looked long into the countenance whose loving confidence had no reproach for him as yet. He held her fast for a little space, kissed her lips and forehead lingeringly, as if he took a mute farewell, then gently put her from him saying, as she sank into a seat—

"Claudia, I never meant to burden you with my unhappy past, believing that I did no wrong in burying it deep from human sight, and walking through the world as if it had never been. I see my error now, and bitterly I repent it. Put pity, prejudice, and pride away, and see me as I am. Hear and judge me, and by your judgment I will abide."

He paused, silently gathering calmness from his strength, and courage from his love; then, as if each word were wrung from him by a sharper pang than he had ever known before, he said slowly: "Claudia, those letters were once branded on my hand, they are the initials of a name—'Maurice Lecroix.' Ten years ago he was my master, I his slave."

If Paul had raised his strong right arm and struck her, the act would not have daunted her with such a pale dismay, or shocked the power more rudely from her limbs. For an instant the tall shape wavered mistily before her and her heart stood still; then she girded up her energies, for with her own suffering came the memory of his, and, true woman through it all, she only covered up her face and cried: "Go on, I can hear it, Paul!"

Solemnly and steadily, as if it were his dying shrift, Paul stood before the woman he loved and told the story of his life.

"My father—God forgive him—was a Cuban planter, my mother a beautiful Quadroon, mercifully taken early out of slavery to an eternal freedom. I never knew her but she bequeathed to me my

father's love, and I possessed it till he died. For fifteen years I was a happy child, and forgot that I was a slave—light tasks, kind treatment, and slight restraints so blinded me to the real hardships of my lot. I had a sister, heiress of my father's name and fortune, and she was my playmate all those years, sharing her pleasures and her pains with me, her small store of knowledge, her girlish accomplishments as she acquired them, and—more than all—the blessing of an artless love. I was her proud protector, her willing servitor, and in those childish days we were what heaven made us, brother and sister fond and free.

I was fifteen when my father died, and the black blight fell upon me in a single night. He had often promised me my freedom—strange gift from a father to a son!—but like other duties it had been neglected till too late. Death came suddenly, and I was left a sadder orphan than poor Nathalie, for my heritage was a curse that cancelled all past love by robbing me of liberty.

“Nathalie and I were separated—she went to her guardian's protection, I to the auction block. Her last words were, ‘Be kind to Paul.’ They promised; but when she was gone they sold me far away from my old home, and then I learned what it was to be a slave. Ah, Claudia, you shudder when I say those words; give your abhorrence to the man who dared to love you, but bestow a little pity on the desolate boy you never knew. I had a hard master, he a rebellious spirit to subdue; for I could not learn subjection, and my young blood burned within me at an insult or a blow. My father's kindness proved the direst misfortune that could have befallen me, for I had been lifted up into humanity and now I was cast back among the brutes; I had been born with a high heart and an eager spirit, they had been cherished fifteen years, now they were to be crushed and broken by inevitable fate.

“Year after year I struggled on, growing more desperate, and tugging more fiercely at my chain as each went by, bringing manhood but not the right to enjoy or make it mine. I tried to escape, but in vain, and each failure added to my despair. I tried to hear of Nathalie, but she had learned to look on me in another light, and had forgotten the sweet tie that bound us once. I tried to become a chattel and be content, but my father had given me his own free instincts, aspirations, and desires, and I could not change my nature though I were to be a slave forever.

“Five miserable years dragged by—so short to tell of, such an

eternity to live! I was twenty, and no young man ever looked into the world more eager to be up and doing, no young man ever saw so black a future as that which appalled me with its doom. I would not accept it, but made a last resolve to try once more for liberty, and if I failed, to end the life I could no longer bear. Watchfully I waited, warily I planned, desperately I staked my last hope—and lost it. I was betrayed and hunted down as ruthlessly as any wolf; but I tried to keep my vow; for as my pursuers clutched me I struck the blow that should have ended all, and the happiest moment of my life was that swift pang when the world passed from me with the exultant thought, ‘I am free at last!’ ”

Paul paused, spent and breathless with rapid speech and strong emotion, and in the silence heard Claudia murmuring through a rain of tears: “Oh, my love! my love! was there no friend but death?”

That low cry was a stronger cordial to Paul’s spirit than the rarest wine grape that ever grew. He looked yearningly across the narrow space that parted them, but though his eye blessed her for her pity, he did not pass the invisible barrier he had set up between them till her hand should throw it down or fix it there forever.

“These are bitter things for you to hear, dear heart. God knows they were bitter things to bear, but I am stronger for them now and you the calmer for your tears. A little more and happier times are coming. I could not lie, but came out of that ‘valley of the shadow’ a meeker soul; for though branded, buffeted, and bruised, I clung to life, blindly believing help must come, and it did. One day a shape passed before my eyes that seemed the angel of deliverance—it was Nathalie, and she was my master’s guest. I gathered covertly that she was a gentle-woman, that she was mistress of her fortune now, and soon to be a happy wife; and hearing these things I determined to make one appeal to her in my great need.

“I watched her, and one blessed night, defying every penalty, and waiting till the house was still, and her light burned alone as I had seen it many times before, I climbed the balcony and stood before her saying, ‘I am Paul, help me in our father’s name.’ She did not recognize the blithe boy in the desperate man, but I told my misery, implored compassion and relief, I looked at her with her father’s face, and nature pleaded better than my prayers, for she stretched her hands to me, saying, with tears as beautiful as those now shining on your cheek, ‘Who should help you if not I? Be comforted and I

will atone for this great neglect and wrong. Paul, have faith in me; I shall not fail.'

"Claudia, you loved me first for my great reverence for woman-kind; this is the secret of the virtue you commend, for when I was most desolate a woman succored me. Since then, in every little maid, I see the child who loved me when a boy, in every blooming girl, the Nathalie who saved me when a man, in every woman, high or low, the semblance of my truest friend, and do them honor in my sister's name."

"Heaven crown her with a happy life!" prayed Claudia, with fervent heart, and still more steadily her lover's voice went on.

"She kept her word, and did a just deed generously, for money flowed like water till I was free, then giving me a little store for present needs, she sent me out the richest man that walked the world. I left the island and went to and fro seeking for my place upon the earth. I never told my story, never betrayed my past, I have no sign of my despised race but my Spanish hue, and taking my father's native country for my own I found no bar in swarthy skin, or the only name I had a right to bear. I seared away all traces of a master's claim, and smiled as the flame tortured me, for liberty had set her seal upon my forehead, and my flesh and blood were *mine*.

"Then I took the rights and duties of a man upon me, feeling their weight and worth, looking proudly on them as a sacred trust won by much suffering, to be used worthily and restored to their bestower richer for my stewardship. I looked about me for some work to do, for now I labored for myself, and industry was sweet. I was a stranger in a strange land, friendless and poor; but I had energy and hope, two angels walking with me night and day.

"Music had always been my passion; now I chose it as my staff of life. In hospitable Germany I made true friends who aided me, and doing any honest work by day, I gave my nights to study, trying to repair the loss of years.

"Southern trees grow rapidly, for their sap is stirred by whirlwinds and fed with ardent heats. Fast I struggled up, groping for the light that dawned more fairly as I climbed; and when ten years were gone I seemed to have been born anew. Paul the slave was dead and his grave grown green; Paul the man had no part in him beyond the mournful memory of the youth that pined and died too soon. The world had done me a great wrong, yet I asked no atonement but the liberty to prove myself a man; no favor but the right to bury my

dead past and make my future what I would. Other men's ambitions were not mine, for twenty years had been taken from me and I had no time to fight for any but the highest prize. I was grateful for the boon heaven sent me, and felt that my work was to build up an honest life, to till the nature given me, and sow therein a late harvest, that my sheaf might yet be worthy the Great Reaper's hand. If there be any power in sincere desire, in solace in devout belief,—that strength, that consolation will be mine. Man's opprobrium may oppress me, woman's pity may desert me, suffering and wrong may still pursue me,—yet I am not desolate; for when all human charities have cast me off I know that a Diviner love will take me in."

To Paul's voice came the music of a fervent faith, in his eye burned the fire of a quenchless hope, and on his countenance there shone a pale serenity that touched it with the youth time cannot take away. Past and present faded from his sight, for in that moment his spirit claimed its birthright, and beyond the creature of his love, his heart beheld the aspiration of his life.

"Claudia, I never thought to know affection like your own; never thought I could deserve so great a blessing; but when it came to me in tenderest guise, pleading to be taken in, how could I bar the door to such a welcome visitant? I did not, and the strong sweet angel entered in to kindle on my lonely hearth a household fire that can never die. Heaven help me if the ministering spirit goes!"

Through all the story of his own despairs and griefs Paul had not faltered, but gone resolutely on, painting his sufferings lightly for Claudia's sake, but now when he remembered the affection she had cherished, the anguish she might feel, the confidence she might believe betrayed, a keen remorse assailed him, and his courage failed. He thought of Claudia lost, and with an exclamation of passionate regret paced the long room with restless feet—paused for a little, looking out into the magic stillness of the night, and came back calm again.

"When you first gave me the good gift you have a right to take again, I told you I was orphaned, friendless, poor; but I did not tell you why I was thus desolate, believing it was wiser to leave a bitter history untold. I thought I did no wrong, but I have learned that perfect peace is only found in perfect truth; and I accept the lesson, for I was too proud of my success, and I am cast down into the dust to climb again with steadier feet. I let you judge me as an equal, showing you my weaknesses, my wants, my passions, and beliefs, as any happier lover might have done; you found some

spark of manhood there, for you loved me, and that act should have made me worthier of the gift—but it did not. Claudia, forgive me; I was weak, but I struggled to be strong; for in the blissful months that have gone by, you showed me all your heart, enriched me with your confidence, and left no sorrow of your life untold—this brave sincerity became a mute reproach to me at last, for far down in *my* heart was a secret chamber never opened to your eye, for there my lost youth lay so stark and cold I dared not show you its dead face. But as the time came nearer when you were to endow me with the name which should go hand in hand with innocence and truth, this vague remorse for a silent wrong determined me to make confession of my past. I wrote it all, believing I could never tell it, as I have done to-night, learning that love can cast out fear. I wrote it and brought it many times, but never gave it, for O, Claudia! O, my heart! I loved you more than honor, and I could not give you up!”

From sleeping garden and still night a breath of air sighed through the room, as mournful and as sweet as those impassioned words, but Claudia never lifted up her hidden face, or stirred to answer it, for she was listening to a more divine appeal, and taking counsel in the silence of her heart.

Paul watched her, and the shadow of a great fear fell upon his face.

“I brought this confession here to-night, resolved to give it and be satisfied; but you did not come to meet me, and while I waited my love tempted me; the strong moment passed, and I burned it, yielding the nobler purpose for the dearer peace. This single page, how dropped I cannot tell, betrayed me to that—woman, and her malice forced on me the part I was not brave enough to play alone.

“Now, Claudia, all is told. Now, seeing what I have been, knowing what I desired to be, remembering mercifully what I am, try my crime and adjudge my punishment.”

There was no need of that appeal, for judgment had been given long before the prayer came. Pride, and fear, and shame had dropped away, leaving the purer passion free; now justice and mercy took love by the hand and led it home. On Claudia’s face there came a light more beautiful than any smile; on cheek and forehead glowed the fervor of her generous blood, in eye and voice spoke the courage of her steadfast heart, as she flung down the barrier, saying only: “Mine still, mine forever, Paul!” and with that tender welcome took the wronged man to the shelter of her love.

Tears hot and heavy as a summer rain baptised the new born peace and words of broken gratitude sang its lullaby, as that strong nature cradled it with blessings and with prayers. Paul was the weaker now, and Claudia learned the greatness of past fear by the vehemence of present joy, as they stood together tasting the sweetness of a moment that enriched their lives.

"Love, do you remember what this gift may cost? Do you remember what I am henceforth to other eyes? Can you bear to see familiar faces growing strange to you, to meet looks that wound you with their pity, to hear words that sting you with their truth, and find a shadow falling on your life from me?"

As he spoke, Paul lifted up that face, "clear-shining after rain," but it did not alter, did not lose its full content, as Claudia replied with fervent voice: "I do remember that I cannot pay too much for what is priceless; that when I was loveless and alone, there came a friend who never will desert me when all others fail; that from lowly places poets, philosophers, and kings have come; and when the world sneers at the name you give me, I can turn upon it saying with the pride that stirs me now: 'My husband has achieved a nobler success than men you honor, has surmounted greater obstacles, has conquered sterner foes, and risen to be an honest man.'"

Paul proved that he was one by still arming her against himself, still warning her of the cruel prejudices which he had such sad cause to know and fear.

"Your generous nature blinds you to the trials I foresee, the disappointments I foretell. In your world there will be no place for me, when this is known, and I cannot ask you to come down from your high place to sit beside an outcast's fire. I have not lost your love,—that was the blow I feared; and still possessing it I can relinquish much, and yield the new title I was soon to know, if I may keep the dear old one of 'friend.' It is no longer in our power to keep this secret unknown, and strengthen our affection by it, as I once hoped. Think of this, Claudia, in a calmer mood, weigh well the present and the future cost, for you have the power to make or mar your happiness.

"No loss of yours must be my gain, and I had rather never look into this face again than live to see it saddened by a vain regret for any act I might have saved you from by timely pain."

"I will consider, I will prove myself before I take your peace into

my hands; but, Paul, I know the answer that will come to all my doubts, I know I shall not change."

Claudia spoke steadily, for she knew herself; and when at length her lover went, her last words were, "Believe in me, I shall not change."

Slowly the clear flame of the lamp grew dim and died, softly Night sang her cradle hymn to hush the weary world, and solemnly the silence deepened as the hours went by, but Claudia with wakeful eyes trod to and fro, or sat an image of mute thought. She was not alone, for good and evil spirits compassed her about, making that still room the battle-field of a viewless conflict between man's law, and woman's love. All the worldly wisdom time had taught, now warned her of the worldly losses she might yet sustain, all the prejudices born of her position and strengthened by her education now assailed her with covert skill, all the pride grown with her growth now tempted her to forget the lover in the slave, and fear threatened her with public opinion, that grim ghost that haunts the wisest and the best. But high above the voice of pride, the sigh of fear, and the echo of "the world's dread laugh," still rose the whisper of her heart, undaunted, undismayed, and cried to her,—

"I was cold, and he cherished me beside his fire; hungry, and he gave me food; a stranger, and he took me in."

Slowly the moon climbed the zenith and dropped into the West, slowly the stars paled one by one, and the gray sky kindled ruddily as dawn came smiling from the hills. Slowly the pale shadow of all worldliness passed from Claudia's mind, and left it ready for the sun, slowly the spectral doubts, regrets and fears vanished one by one, and through the twilight of that brief eclipse arose the morning of a fairer day.

As young knights watched their arms of old in chapels haunted by the memory of warrior or saint, and came forth eager for heroic deeds, so Claudia in the early dawn braced on the armor consecrated by a night of prayerful vigil, and with valiant soul addressed herself to the duty which would bring her life's defeat or victory.

Paul found another Claudia than the one he left; for a woman steadfast and strong turned to him a countenance as full of courage as of cheer, when standing there again he looked deep into her eyes and offered her his hand as he had done on that betrothal night. Now, as then, she took it, and in a moment gave a sweet significance to those characters which were the only vestiges of his wrong, for

bending she touched the scarred palm with her lips, and whispered tenderly, "My love, there is no anguish in that brand, no humiliation in that claim, and I accept the bondage of the master who rules all the world."

As he spoke, Paul looked a happier, more *contented* slave, than those fabulous captives the South boasts of, but finds it hard to show.

Claudia led him back into the lower world again by asking with a sigh—"Paul, why should Jessie Snowden wish to wound me so? What cause have I given her for such dislike?"

A swift color swept across her lover's face, and the disdainful smile touched his lips again as he replied, "It is not a thing for me to tell; yet for the truth's sake I must. Jessie Snowden wooed what Claudia won. Heaven knows I have no cause for vanity, yet I could not help seeing in her eyes the regard it took so long to read in these more maidenly ones. I had no return to make, but gave all the friendship and respect I could to one for whom I had a most invincible distaste. There was no other cause for her dislike, yet I believe she hated me, or why should she speak with such malicious pleasure where a more generous woman would have held her peace? I have no faith in her, and by tomorrow I shall see in some changed face the first cloud of the storm she once foretold. Claudia, let us be married quietly, and go away until the gossips are grown weary, and we are forgotten."

Paul spoke with the sudden impulse of a nature sensitive and proud, but Claudia's energy was fully aroused and she answered with indignant color, "No, nothing must be changed. I asked my friends to see me made a proud and happy wife; shall I let them think I am ashamed to stand before them with the man I love? Paul, if I cannot bear a few harsh words, a few cold looks, a little pain, for you, of what worth is my love, of what use is my strength, and how shall I prove a fit friend and help-meet to you in the heavier cares and sorrows heaven sends us all?"

"Claudia, you are the braver of the two! I should be stronger if I had much to give; but I am so poor, this weight of obligation robs me of my courage. I am a weak soul, love, for I cannot trust, and I am still haunted by the fear that I shall one day read some sorrowful regret in this face, grown so wan with one night's watching for my sake."

Claudia dropped on her knee before him, and lifting up her earnest countenance, said, "Read it, Paul, and never doubt again.

You spoke once of atonement,—make it by conquering your pride and receiving as freely as I give; for believe me, it is as hard a thing greatly to accept, as it is bountifully to bestow. You are not poor, for there can be no mine and thine between us two; you are not weak, for I lean on your strength, and know it will not fail; you are not fearful now, for looking here, you see the wife who never can regret or know the shadow of a change.” Paul brushed the brown locks back, and as he read it smiled again, for heart and eyes and tender lips confirmed the truth, and he was satisfied.

Jessie Snowden’s secret haunted her like Lady Macbeth’s, and like that strong-minded woman, she would have told it in her sleep, if she had not eased herself by confiding it to a single friend. “Dear Maria” promised an eternal silence, but “Dear Maria” was the well known “little bird” who gave the whisper to the air. Rumor sowed it broadcast, gossips nurtured it, and Claudia reaped a speedy harvest of discomforts and chagrins.

She thought herself well armed for the “war of words”; but women’s tongues forged weapons whose blows she could not parry, and men’s censure or coarse pity pierced her shield, and wounded deeper than she dared to tell. Her “dear five hundred friends” each came to save her from social suicide, and her peaceful drawing-room soon became a chamber of the Inquisition, where a daily “Council of Ten” tormented her with warnings, entreaties—and reproaches,—harder trials for a woman to bear, than the old tortures of rack and thirst and fire.

She bore herself bravely through these troublous times, but her pillow received bitter tears, heard passionate prayers and the throbbing of an indignant heart, that only calmed itself by the power of its love. Paul never saw a tear or heard a sigh,—for him the steady smile sat on her lips, a cheerful courage filled her eye; but he read her pain in the meekness which now beautified her face, and silently the trial now drew them nearer than before.

There was no mother to gather Claudia to her breast with blessings and with prayers when the marriage morning dawned, no sister to hover near her, April-like, with smiles and tears, no father to give her proudly to the man she loved, and few friends to make it a blithe festival; but a happier bride had never waited for her bridegroom’s coming than Claudia as she looked out at the sunshine of a gracious day, and said within herself, “Heaven smiles upon me with auspicious skies, and in the depths of my own heart I hear a sweeter

chime than any wedding bells can ring,—feel a truer peace than human commendation can bestow. Oh father, whom I never knew! oh mother, whom I wholly loved! be with me now, and bless me in this happy hour.”

Paul came at last, fevered with the disquiet of much sleepless thought, and still disturbed by the gratitude of a generous nature, which believed itself unworthy of the gift relenting Fortune now bestowed. He saw a fair woman crowned for him, and remembering his past, looked at her, saying with troubled and agitated voice—“Claudia, it is not yet too late.” But the white shape fluttered from him to the threshold of the door, and looking back, only answered, “Come.”

Music, the benignant spirit of their lives, breathed a solemn welcome as the solitary pair paced down the chancel, through the silken stir of an uprising throng. Down from the altar window, full of sacred symbols and rich hues, fell heaven’s benediction in a flood of light, touching Paul’s bent head with mellow rays, and bathing Claudia’s bridal snow in bloom.

Silently that unconscious pair preached a better sermon than had ever echoed there, for it appealed to principles that never die, and made its text, “The love of liberty, the liberty of love.”

Many a worldly man forgot his worldliness, and thinking of Paul’s hard-won success, owned that he honored him. Many a frivolous woman felt her eye wet by sudden dew, her bosom stirred by sudden sympathy, as Claudia’s clear, “I will,” rose through the hush, and many a softened heart confessed the beauty of the deed it had condemned.

Stern bridegroom and pale bride, those two had come into the chapel’s gloom; proud-eyed husband, blooming wife, those two made one, passed out into the sunlight on the sward, and down along that shining path they walked serenely into their new life.

The nine days’ wonder died away and Paul and Claudia, listening to the murmur of the sea, forgot there was a world through all that happy month. But when they came again and took their places in the circle they had left, the old charm had departed; for prejudice, a sterner autocrat than the Czar of all the Russias, hedged them round with an invisible restraint, that seemed to shut them out from the genial intercourse they had before enjoyed. Claudia would take no hand that was not given as freely to her husband, and there were not many to press her own as cordially as they once had done. Then

she began to realize the emptiness of her old life, for now she looked upon it with a clearer eye, and saw it would not stand the test she had applied.

This was the lesson she had needed, it taught her the value of true friendship, showed her the poverty of old beliefs, the bitterness of old desires, and strengthened her proud nature by the sharp discipline of pain.

Paul saw the loneliness that sometimes came upon her when her former pleasures ceased to satisfy, and began to feel that his forebodings would prove true. But they never did; for there came to them those good Samaritans who minister to soul as well as sense, these took them by the hand, and through their honor for her husband, gave to Claudia the crowning lesson of her life.

They led her out of the world of wealth, and fashion, and pretense, into that other world that lies above it, full of the beauty of great deeds, high thoughts and humble souls, who walk its ways, rich in the virtues that

“Smell sweet, and blossom in the dust.”

Like a child in fairyland she looked about her, feeling that here she might see again the aspirations of her youth, and find those happy visions true.

In this new world she found a finer rank than any she had left, for men whose righteous lives were their renown, whose virtues their estate, were peers of this realm, whose sovereign was Truth, whose ministers were Justice and Humanity, whose subjects all “who loved their neighbor better than themselves.”

She found a truer chivalry than she had known before, for heroic deeds shone on her in the humblest guise, and she discovered knights of a nobler court than Arthur founded, or than Spenser sang. Saint Georges, valiant as of old, Sir Guyons, devout and strong, and silver-tongued Sir Launcelots without a stain, all fighting the good fight for love of God and universal right.

She found a fashion old as womanhood and beautiful as charity, whose votaries lived better poems than any pen could write; brave Britomarts redressing wrongs, meek Unas succoring the weak, high-hearted Maids of Orleans steadfast through long martyrdoms of labor for the poor, all going cheerfully along the by-ways of the world, and leaving them the greener for the touch of their unwearied feet.

She found a religion that welcomed all humanity to its broad church, and made its priest the peasant of Judea who preached the Sermon on the Mount.

Then, seeing these things, Claudia felt that she had found her place, and putting off her "purple of fine linen," gave herself to earnest work, which is the strengthening wine of life. Paul was no longer friendless and without a home, for here he found a country, and a welcome to that brotherhood which makes the whole world kin; and like the pilgrims in that fable never old, these two "went on their way rejoicing," leaving the shores of "Vanity Fair" behind them, and through the "Valley of Humiliation" climbed the mountains whence they saw the spires of the "Celestial City" shining in the sun.

Slowly all things right themselves when founded on truth. Time brought tardy honors to Paul, and Claudia's false friends beckoned her to come and take her place again, but she only touched the little heads, looked up into her husband's face, and answered with a smile of beautiful content—"I cannot give the substance for the shadow,—cannot leave my world for yours. Put off the old delusions that blind you to the light, and come up here to me."

SOME NEGRO OFFICERS AND LEGISLATORS IN LOUISIANA*

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Office</i> | <i>Years Serving</i> |
|----------------------------|---------------|-------------------------|
| Chas. E. Nash ¹ | Congressman | 1874-76 (44th Congress) |

STATE OFFICERS

| | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------|---------|
| Oscar J. Dunn ² | Lieutenant Governor | 1868-71 |
| P. B. S. Pinchback ³ | Lieutenant Governor | 1871-72 |
| C. C. Antoine ⁴ | Lieutenant Governor | 1872-76 |
| P. G. Deslonde ⁷ | Secretary of State | 1872-76 |
| Antoine Dubluclet | State Treasurer | 1868-69 |
| W. G. Brown | Supt. Pub. Ed. | 1872-76 |

STATE SENATORS

Parishes

| | | |
|----------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------|
| Andrew Monette | Orleans | 1868-70 |
| Robert Poindexter | Assumption | 1868-70 |
| Curtis Pollard | East Carroll | 1868-70 |
| C. C. Antoine | Caddo | 1868-70-72 (Lt. Gov. 72-76) |
| P. B. S. Pinchback | Orleans | 1868-70-72 (Lt. Gov. 71-72) |
| J. Henri Burch ⁵ | E. Baton Rouge | 1872-74-76-78-80 |
| George Y. Kelso | Rapides | 1868-70-72 |
| Edward Butler | Plaquemine | 1868-70-72 |
| J. H. Ingraham ⁵ | Orleans | 1870-72-74 |
| A. E. Barber | Orleans | 1868-70-72-74 1872-74-76 |
| Oscar Crozier | | |
| Raiford Blunt ⁵ | Natchitoches | 1872-74-76 |
| Wm. Harper | St. Charles | 1872-74-76 |
| Jacques A. Gla | East Carroll | 1872-74-76 |
| J. A. Massicot ⁵ | Orleans | 1872-74-76 |
| David Young ⁵ | Concordia | 1874-76 |
| T. B. Stamps | Jefferson | 1874-76 |
| Andrew J. Dumont | Orleans (Algiers) | 1874-76 |
| Pierre Landry | Ascension | 1874-76-78 |
| Theophile T. Allain ⁵ | Iberville | 1874-76-78-80 ¹⁴ |
| Richard Sims ⁵ | St. James | 1874-76-78-80 |
| R. F. Guichard ⁵ | Orleans(St. Bernard) | 1874-76-78 |
| Geo. B. Hamlet | Ouachita | 1876-78-80 ¹⁴ |
| Thomas Cage ⁵ | Terrebonne | 1874-76-78-80-84 |
| Simon Toby | Orleans | 1884-88 |
| Jordan Stewart | Terrebonne | 1884-88 |
| Henry Demas ⁵ | St. John Baptist | 1874-76-78-80-84- 88-92 |

| | | |
|------------------|------------|------------|
| Isaac Sutton | St. Mary | 1876-78-80 |
| Fortune Riard | Orleans | 1874-76-78 |
| J. S. Davidson | Iberville | 1880-1884 |
| Emile Detiege | St. Martin | 1876-1878 |
| Samuel Wakefield | Iberia | 1876-1878 |

REPRESENTATIVES

Parishes

| | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------|--|
| J. A. Massicot ⁵ | Orleans | 1868-70-72 |
| Harry Rey | Natchitoches | 1868-70 |
| Ulgar Dupart | Terrebonne | 1868-70 |
| H. M. Williams | | 1868-70 |
| J. Monroe | | 1868-70-72 ¹⁴ |
| Moses Sterret | Caddo | 1868-70 |
| S. F. Cuney | Rapides | 1868-70 |
| C. J. Adolphe | Orleans | 1868-70-72 |
| Frank Alexander | Orleans | 1868-70-72 |
| Henry Demas ⁶ | St. John Baptist | 1870-72 |
| Dennis Burrel | St. James | 1868-70-72 |
| P. G. Deslonde ⁵⁻⁷ | Iberville | 1868-70-72 |
| W. B. Barrett | Orleans | 1870-72 |
| Samuel Armstead | Orleans | 1870-72 |
| Jerry Hall | Orleans | 1868-70-72 |
| Harry Lott | Rapides | 1868-70-72 |
| J. Henri Burch ⁶ | East Baton Rouge | 1868-70-72 |
| Octave Belot | Orleans | 1868-70-72 |
| Noah Douglass | St. Landry | 1868-70-72 |
| Milton Morris | Ascension | 1868-70-72 |
| Thos. Mahier | West Baton Rouge | 1868-70-72 |
| Joseph Mansion | Orleans | 1868-70-72 |
| H. C. Tournier | Pointé Coupee | 1868-70-72 |
| Henry Washington | Assumption | 1868-70-72 |
| E. Honore | Pointé Coupee | 1868-70-72 |
| W. B. Barrett | Orleans | 1870-72 |
| Edgar Davis | Orleans | 1870-72 |
| B. Buchanan | Orleans (Algiers) | 1870-72 |
| R. J. M. Kenner | Orleans | 1870-72 |
| R. F. Guichard | St. Bernard | 1870-72 |
| E. C. Morphy | Orleans | 1870-72 |
| J. W. Quinn | Orleans | 1870-72 |
| C. W. Ringgold | Orleans | 1870-72 (Served as Postmaster un- der Grant) |
| Samuel Armstead | Orleans | 1870-72 |
| Moses Jackson | St. Mary | 1874-76 |
| Anthony Overton | Ouachita | 1870-72 |
| George Washington | Concordia | 1870-72 |

| | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------|------------------------------|
| Thomas Murray | Orleans | 1870-72 |
| John J. Moore | St. Mary | 1870-72 |
| William Crawford | Union | 1870-72 |
| R. G. Gardner | Jefferson | 1870-72 |
| Henderson Williams | Madison | 1870-72 |
| W. C. Williams | East Feliciana | 1870-72 |
| P. Darinsburg | Pointé Coupeé | 1870-72 |
| W. E. McCarthy | Orleans | 1868-70-72 |
| Raiford Blunt ⁶ | Natchitoches | 1868-70-72 |
| T. H. Francois ⁶ | Jefferson | 1868-70-72 |
| Richard Simms ⁶ | St. James | 1868-70-72-74 |
| Aristide DeJoie | Orleans | 1870-72-74 |
| Pierre Landry ⁶ | Ascension | 1870-72-74 |
| J. A. Crawford | Franklin | 1870-72-74 |
| F. C. Antoine | Orleans | 1870-72-74-76 |
| Wm. C. Gary | St. Mary | 1876-80 |
| J. B. Esnard | Iberia | 1870-72-74-76 |
| John Gair ¹² | East Feliciana | 1868-70-72-74-76 |
| Robt. H. Issabelle | Orleans | 1868-70-72-74-76 |
| Wm. Murrell | Lafourche | 1868-70-72-74-76 |
| David Young ⁶ | Concordia | 1868-70-72-74-76 |
| Andrew J. Dumont ⁶ | Orleans | 1868-70-72-74-76 |
| Cain Sartain | East Carroll | 1870-72-74-76 |
| L. A. Snear | Orleans | 1872-74-76 |
| Fredrick B. Wright | Terrebonne | 1874-76-78 |
| Milton Jones | Pointé Coupeé | 1876-78 |
| R. J. Brooks | St. Mary | 1876-78-80 |
| Wm. Murrell | Madison | 1876-78 |
| Wm. Murrell, Jr. | Madison | 1878-80 |
| Gloster Hill | Ascension | 1876-78-80 |
| Wash Lyons | Terrebonne | 1876-78-80 |
| Thornton Butler | Orleans | 1876-78-80 |
| Enos Williams | Terrebonne | 1876-78-80-84 |
| Bivien Gardner | Assumption | 1880-84 |
| J. S. Davidson | Iberville | 1870-72-74-76-78- 1892-96 |
| W. B. Smith | St. Mary | 1878-80 |
| Chas. Smith | Terrebonne | 1880-84 |
| Chas. F. Brown | Jefferson | 1880-84 |
| J. S. Jones | Iberville | 1880-84 |
| Lucien Comaux | Iberville | 1880-84 |
| Benjamin Ewell | Assumption | 1884-88 |
| Governor Hawkins ¹¹ | Madison | 1884-88 |
| W. W. Johnson ¹¹ | Madison | 1884-88 |
| T. T. Allian ⁶ | Iberville | 1884-88 |
| John F. Patty ⁹ | St. Mary | 1884-88 |
| Vincent Dickerson ⁸ | St. James | 1884-88-92 |
| W. S. Posey | St. Mary | 1884-88 ¹⁴ |

| | | |
|-------------------------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| Harry Mahoney ⁹ | Plaquemine | 1872-74-76-78-80-84 |
| Chas. E. Bourgoise ¹⁰ | St. Charles | 1878-80-84-88-92-96 |
| Victor Fauria ¹⁰ | St. Tammany | 1892-96 |
| Henry C. W. CasaCalvo ¹⁰ | East Baton Rouge | 1892-96 |
| Royal Coleman | Terrebonne | 1878-80-84 |
| Isham Pollard | Terrebonne | 1878-80 |
| John Cayolle | St. John | 1880-84-88 |
| Rosario Ducote' | Avoyelles | 1878-80-84-88 |
| Victor Rochon | St. Martin | 1884-88 |
| Arthur Antoine | St. Mary | 1872-74 |

COLORED MEMBERS OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1867¹⁸

| | | |
|------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| C. C. Antoine | R. G. Gardner | Robt. Poindexter |
| O. C. Blandin | R. H. Isabelle | Curtis Pollard |
| E. Bonnefroi | Thos. Isabelle | Fortune Riard |
| H. Bonseigneur | George Y. Kelso | D. D. Riggs |
| William Butler | J. B. Lewis | L. B. Rodriguez |
| Dennis Burrell | Richard Lewis | J. H. A. Roberts |
| R. I. Cromwell | Chas. Leroy | Sosthen L. Snaer |
| P. G. Deslonde | Thos. N. Martin | C. A. Thibault |
| A. Donato | Milton Morris | Henderson Williams |
| Gustave Dupart | J. A. Massicot | David Wilson |
| Ulger Dupart | Wm. R. Meadows | P. F. Valfroit |
| John Gair | S. R. Moses | Louis Francois |
| Leopold Guichard | William Murrell | |
| J. H. Ingraham | P. B. S. Pinchback | |

¹ Only colored Congressman elected from Louisiana. He served in the 44th Congress. He was a bricklayer by trade, residing in Opelousas, St. Landry Parish, when elected to Congress. He had been a private in the 83rd Regiment, U. S. Chasseurs d'Afrique, and was promoted to sergeant major at Fort Blakely. He was defeated for re-election to Congress in 1876.

² First lieutenant governor of African descent elected in the United States. Ex-Governor Warmoth under whom he served, says he was a man of commanding personality, fine native ability and poise. His sudden death on November 21, 1871, in the midst of a turbulent political state of affairs, led to the suspicion that he might have been poisoned. The coroner's decision was that he died from cerebral hemorrhage. He was acting governor for the period of Governor Warmoth's forced absence from the State for several months because of personal illness.

³ The most noted colored politician of Louisiana, an able and interesting character. Born in Macon, Georgia, May 10, 1837. A mulatto who had had many advantages. Educated in Cincinnati. Came to New Orleans as a captain of a steamboat. Elected State Senator from the Second Senatorial District of the Parish of Orleans in 1868, after a heated contest for the seat by E. L.

Jewell, white, taking his seat on Tuesday, September 1, 1868. He cast his first vote in the Senate for his opponent to receive per diem compensation, the day after he was seated. Through the influence of the all-powerful Governor Warmoth, he was elected Lieutenant governor to succeed Oscar J. Dunn. He was acting governor during the interim of the Warmoth impeachment and the inauguration of Governor Kellogg. A fiery speech which he is said to have delivered in the Senate, September 3, 1870, and in which he is quoted as threatening to "lay the city in ashes," is said to have hurt his political possibilities. He was defeated for Congressman at large, and for Senator, 1874, but was paid the salary for the full senatorial term. In addition to offices mentioned, he held the following: Member of the Louisiana Constitutional Convention, 1868; Inspector of Customs, 1876-1880; Surveyor of Customs, 1882 to 1886. He was admitted to the Louisiana bar to practice law in 1886, but soon abandoned the profession. He supported Grant in the famous Grant and Greeley race. Died in Washington, D.C., December 21, 1921, and was interred in the exclusive Metairie Ridge Cemetery, New Orleans. He was an ardent supporter of education, and lead in the establishing of Old Southern University for the education of colored youths in the State. He is said to have amassed considerable wealth.

⁴ Antoine was of pure African descent, small of stature and possessed of considerable diplomacy and parliamentary ability. He had not, however, the dominating personality of Dunn or Pinchback. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1868, and as lieutenant governor, he became acting governor while Governor Kellogg was under impeachment charges. He died September 14, 1921, in Shreveport, Caddo Parish, which he had represented in the Legislature. It is a coincidence that he died just forty-seven years to the day from the date of the Metropolitan Police Riot, and of which as lieutenant governor at the time, he was a part or factor in the storm center.

⁵ Formerly served as a member of the House of Representatives.

⁶ Elevated to the Senate from the House.

⁷ Was elected Secretary of State under Kellogg, governor from 1872-76.

⁸ Was elected nine consecutive times to the House. Unseated by a Democratic House, 1892, Wm. Diamond, white, succeeding to the place by compromise.

⁹ Defeated for Secretary of State on the Republican ticket, 1888.

¹⁰ Last colored members to sit in the Louisiana Legislature. Practically three-fourths of the colored vote in the State had been disfranchised through the enactment of the "Grandfather Clause" in the Constitutional Convention of 1898, and through the understanding clauses.

¹¹ Elected as a Democrat on the regular Democrat ticket largely by white votes.

¹² He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1868, a leader in

¹³ There were 44 colored and 54 white members.

¹⁴ Not certain as to some of the years.

the House of Representatives, and a political leader of influence in his parish. He was killed by a mob of "bulldozers" in the parish he represented.

* Many sources have been used to gather the data here. Among the most valuable and authentic have been ex-Governor H. C. Warmoth and his well

equipped library. Archives of the Department of State, the Cabildo, the Confederate Memorial, the New Orleans Public Library, and various private libraries have been used. House and Senate journals of the Reconstruction period have been of some value, although names of members were not given according to race, but old newspaper files and various documents have been used to establish the identity of Negro members.

Junius H. Bailey, now supervisor of Plaquemine colored schools, was a prime mover in politics during that period known as Reconstruction in Louisiana. He is in possession of many valuable facts and documents bearing on the part played by Negroes at the time.

Walter L. Cohen, Comptroller of Customs, was a page in the Legislature of 1876. He has been of service in securing late Reconstruction data. W. O. Hart, noted historian, has been of inestimable service in verifying names and facts. W. S. Posey, last surviving Negro member of the Legislature living in the state has rendered valuable aid in this work through his memoirs and reminiscences.

Of course, many books have been consulted, references, documents, and sundry political and social literature. The list of legislators is practically complete, and the facts given are as authentic as might be possible to make them. I think they may be safely relied on as accurate and having every merit of veracity and authentic history and biography. The work has been approved by the leading literary and historical clubs of Louisiana.

A. E. PERKINS
2911 Milan Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

BOOK REVIEWS

Black America. By SCOTT NEARING. (New York: The Vanguard Press, 1929. Pp. 275. Price \$3.00.)

This is a brief statement of the introduction of Negroes into the Western Hemisphere, their freedom, and their social and economic struggle against many handicaps. The author does not give many historical facts which may not be found in almost any brief history of the Negro. In fact, his treatment is rather brief from the historic point of view inasmuch as history is here a background for the study of the present status of the Negro in the United States. Taking up the important concern of the book, the author directs attention to such questions as land ownership, living conditions, the results of the migration, economic discrimination, the color line, race superiority, segregation, and lynch law. He shows that the efforts for freedom have not been made altogether since the emancipation of the race in 1865. From the earliest times Negroes were running away from slavery, purchasing their own freedom, and organizing insurrections for a more extensive liberation. Finally the author becomes more interesting in the discussion of the Negroes' struggle for freedom. He discusses the farce of political democracy and especially as it appears in economic handicaps where the operation of race prejudice cannot be given any justification on the usual grounds of the fear of miscegenation.

The book is well illustrated. The scenes from life being carefully chosen to reflect the condition of the Negroes in the development of the theme from page to page. These illustrations represent all classes of Negroes and all conditions in the various parts of the country. In the work, too, are found some data in tabulated form and a helpful map showing the distribution of the Negro population in 1920. The value of the book would have been enhanced, however, if more available data in the United States Census records had been used.

On the whole, this book is nothing new. Coming from one of America's radicals, however, from one who shows that he has little of the prejudice which throughout this work is presented as the tremendous handicap of the Negro, the book will have much influence upon thought and as a summary will prove to be most informing to persons who have not yet given attention to the Negro problem. It will hardly serve as a source book, for which it is recommended,

because the author has depended too much upon secondary materials and has drawn too freely from other books which are easily accessible. It is unfortunate, too, that he has quoted from several works which by authorities in social science have never been recognized as scientific productions. By those with the power to discriminate, however, the book may be profitably used as an informing manual.

Blind Spots, Experiments in the Self-Cure of Race Prejudice. By HENRY SMITH LEIPER. (New York: Friendship Press, 1929. Pp. XVI, 143. Price \$1.00.)

The author insists that this book is not a production from an arm-chair but a record of experience. He has had prolonged contact with people of many races in America and in foreign lands. The author was born into the family of a Presbyterian missionary to the Cherokee Indians in what is now Oklahoma. He has since then lived in the North and South among whites and blacks, among natives and foreigners. He treats race prejudice not as it merely affects the Negro but as a national and international problem.

The book, however, does not undertake to review the existing manifestations of race prejudice and for that reason should not long detain the historian. In the work, however, as the author presents his cures for race prejudice, he gives interesting facts of value to the student of social science. The prejudiced man is the unreasonable man. He has no logical foundation on which he can stand. The imbecility of antagonism to all people of a race purely on the grounds of color, even denying consideration for men like Tanner, Hayes, and Carver, cannot be otherwise explained. Race prejudice, then, is a matter of tradition and systematic education in the baser things of life.

Taking up the chief reason advanced for race prejudice, the anti-miscegenation bias, the author gives numerous instances of intermarriage, which although generally of unions of the weakest of the two races, have not proved to be biologically unsound. Socially, however, he feels that the handicaps resulting therefrom makes such marriages unfortunate. That the Negroes in America should be persecuted as they have been merely to prevent intermarriage, he considers decidedly unjust because experience does not show that social contact of the races in America generally results in such unions. In numerous cases representatives of the best element of

the North have worked among the Negroes of the South where for years they have had social intercourse as teachers and students would when they all belong to the same race. Yet, there have been no cases of intermarriage of which he knows. The reviewer, however, has heard of one, which would not impair the force of the author's argument.

The author again falls back upon experience to show that the majority of any race has a certain amount of pride which restrains it from going out of the race in choosing a companion for life. The author should have added, too, that some of the persons who form these interracial unions are impelled by the social prohibition so frequently proclaimed by the agents of race prejudice. They desire what is forbidden, and often do the unusual thing to test what is regarded as dangerous or undesirable. The author does not forget to mention the fact that there has been more intermingling of the races where it is legally prohibited than where practically nothing is said about it.

The Negro in Greek and Roman Civilization. A Study of the Ethiopian Type. By GRACE HADLEY BEARDSLEY, PH.D. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1929. Pp. XII, 145.)

This is one of the Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology edited by David M. Robinson. The book is interesting from two points of view—that of the data which it contains and that of the misuse which the author undertakes to make of such data. For the facts obtained in this research the public will find itself indebted to the author. Science, however, will not accept her conclusions which evidently grow out of the unfortunate manner in which biased writers treat anything which has to do with persons of African blood. Race prejudice has vitiated scholarship in this country to the extent that science has not yet had a chance.

This book shows much study of accessible works on archaeology and some investigation by the author herself. It is clear, however, that the author's researches have not been extensive enough for her to question so freely the conclusions of those who have given so much more time to archaeology than she has. She shows, moreover, that she has not exhausted the works of great archaeologists who have touched on matters with respect to Ethiopia and the ancient world—Schlieman, Evans, Count de Gobineau, Broughton, Sergi

and Winchell. She does not show too much knowledge of those whom she quotes.

In the beginning the author assumes what has never been proved (XI), namely, that the Ethiopian occupied a humble position in Greece. Some of them doubtless did, just as some Germans in the United States occupy a humble position; but all of them do not. The author herself takes such a thing for granted in spite of the fact that on the self same page of the preface she states: "Literary evidence as to the status of the black race in Greek and Roman life is very slight." It is not so slight as she may think and she should have read further in Greek and Roman authors before making such a statement. The author, however, believes that if we supplement our knowledge with art we can better determine such Ethiopian status in these ancient countries. She even tries to show that the Greek had the same prejudice as she herself has because they represented the ruling class of Ethiopia as white, since they could not think of them as black persons (42). Art, however, must be interpreted; and no persons of the prejudiced school, ready to hold up to ridicule anything African, can be depended upon as an art critic.

After showing what little she knew of the Ethiopian in Greek literature she tries to account for the introduction of the Ethiopian into Greece. They came probably as "Palace guards or auxiliaries" but inevitably as slaves as any biased student would think. The Greeks, she thinks, found the Ethiopians sufficiently ugly to be prophylactic (21) and also interesting as a type; "for the Negro unfortunately has always appealed to the comic side of the Caucasian." In other words, "The Negro's propensity to quick laughter, his feeling for music and the dramatic and his loose-jointed dancing have always made him a popular comedian." And we might carry it further, but this is sufficient to show the author's perversion of facts, and an effort to read bias into the interpretation of ancient art.

In the first place, every scientist knows that the most ancient Greeks and Romans were not Caucasians in the sense that the author understands it. They were mixed breeds and had a large infusion of African blood like that from many other sources which came into the Mediterranean melting pot. Some pure blooded Africans were carried away captive and enslaved as were others of various races, but there is nothing to prove that the status of the African in Greece was determined as that of a menial, a comedian, or a slave purely on the grounds of color. Such insanity has taken root only in America.

The Ethiopians were quickly absorbed by the Greeks. Africans were brought as captives to Rome in so much larger numbers in those numerous conquests that they could not be so rapidly assimilated there as in Greece. For this reason references to them in Roman literature were less complimentary than in Greece, but this happened to any other slaves brought in such numbers and sometimes in the case of those few in number. For example the Ancient Britons enslaved in Rome were considered by Cicero "a lazy good-for-nothing lot, of inferior breed." Caesar found these Britons equally contemptible because "sets of ten or twelve have their wives in common among them, and when children are born they are considered to belong to the one who first married their mother." Going further back, Herodotus, who paid a high tribute to the Ethiopians, was struck by the ferocity of the "Teutonic soldier, vampire-like," who "used to suck out the blood from the first enemy he killed." The Padeans, he said, used to eat their own dead. Greek and Roman literature, then, will prove that references to the Ethiopians were as complimentary as those to other captured foreigners. There were other persons of African blood enjoying a higher status than those portrayed as slaves.

Throughout the book the author rings true to purpose in trying to show that the Negro in Greek and Roman sculpture was a comedian, slave, or the like (41, 42, 47, 51, 52, 62, 64, 65, 81, 85, 86, 103, 104, 106, 111, 112, 116). The author is so biased or uninformed that she partly ignores the mixed breeds of the Mediterranean. When she comments on an object of art with features resembling those of both races (75) she tries to make the figure represent someone imported. Commenting on the representation of the Ethiopians' hair by artists she says, "The many flat curls recall the groups of plaited pigtaails covering the head of many a small pickaninny"(79). Yet any student of history knows that the Negroes' method of hairdressing in America or Europe has always been in imitation of that of the whites. They soon lost the custom brought from Africa. The Negroes, of course, have been slow in casting aside the old styles of hairdressing, but what they have had came from the whites.

When one observes that this work is the production of one of our accredited universities noted for scientific investigation he must wonder how a book so meretricious should receive the approval of that institution. This may be due to the fact that in America we

have paid such a little attention to ancient Africa and know such a little about it that almost any unscientific production may impress us as valuable. This book is no more evidence of scholarship than the speeches of Blease and Heflin are of statesmanship.

Life and Labor in the Old South. By U. B. PHILLIPS. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1929. Pp. 375. Price \$4.00.)

This study of life and labor in the old South reveals new points of view concerning the régime of the ante-bellum period. It is not generally understood that there are zones within the South with peculiar differences in history and tradition. The author distinguishes the upper regions from the lower sections and points out the singular economic and social changes which came as a result of soil variations and diversity of settlers. He begins with the tide-water settlements of the Old Dominion and shows a shifting frontier through the piedmont and southwest. Such factors as climate and its influence upon industry, economic organization, and political outlook are given consideration which will be enlightening to students of southern history.

Agriculture is conceded as the chief occupation of the people who have participated in the life and labor of the South. The great staples of rice, cotton, sugar, and tobacco show clearly a process of evolution which was closely related to climatic and sectional conditions. There was very little industry, and scientific methods in farming made slow progress with the exception of an occasional leader like David Dickson who undertook experiments in crops and other men who ventured into the field of animal husbandry. In very few instances is there evidence of any great departure from the crude struggle of the groping pioneer with nature. As soil became impoverished planters migrated to new sections for better lands which were in turn exhausted in crude methods of cultivation and tenure. The staples demanded this practice in that there were no commercial fertilizers worth while to say nothing of the absence of machinery.

The author shows that slavery was not the first type of labor in the old South. Indentured servants in large numbers were tried out in the early decades of the old régime. Indians would not be enslaved. With the growth of the plantation system, some other substitute was absolutely necessary. Slavery was introduced and with it the slave traffic began. Europeans found this business very

profitable and launched the slave trade for which the South was no less responsible than other sections of America. The wasteful nature of the plantation system included human life as well as fertility of the soil. This requirement constantly called for new supplies of slaves as the vanishing frontier yielded new land to be cleared and cultivated. When foreign supplies became inadequate, breeding for market became very profitable in the upper South. The author does not give much attention to this practice which Rhodes and others have set forth in great detail.

The rôle of the overseer is presented in considerable detail. He was in charge of the plantation while the planter was away enjoying the leisure in which the élite indulged to excess. This study like that of Bassett portrays the overseer, with a few exceptions, as a representative of the poor whites. Occasionally he was a man of some ability, but generally he knew very little of scientific methods of farming. His principal function was to police slaves and manage the plantation unit which varied considerably. Changes were frequent and salaries were low. Much depended upon crop yields, which were subject to seasonal conditions, and the morale of the labor force which determined the worth of the overseer. The extent to which he was displaced by drivers and foremen among the slaves is not mentioned.

Practically no distinction is made among the different classes of slaves. Of course, they are mentioned incidentally, but the general tendency was to consider all slaves in a group which is still the policy of white Americans in thinking of Negroes and prescribing a place for them. The artisan and skilled journeyman blacksmith, for example, are not portrayed in this study. The principal emphasis is upon the field hand type that was in the majority. The author does not show that the bulk of carpentry, masonry, and other skilled labor on the plantation was done by slaves of superior ability. This omission is unfortunate because no picture of life in the old South is complete without this group of workmen who had a monopoly of the skilled work of the plantation régime. Negroes held this work until they faced the encroachments of the poor white unionized artisans who have entered since the reconstruction.

This study does not emphasize sufficiently the numerical position of the poor whites in the old South. It must always be kept in mind that the master class constituted only a small minority of the white population of the old South. The life of the poor white who pos-

sessed even one or two slaves was miserable in that he was looked upon with suspicion by the planters and detested by the slaves with whom he had to compete in the labor market. In this competition for over two hundred years must be traced the subtle and peculiar bitterness of present day poor whites towards Negroes in America. In the ante-bellum South a poor white man had little place in a rural economy which depended fundamentally upon slave labor. The poor white might rise to the lofty position of overseer which was quite similar to the exalted and coveted rank of the present-day white gang boss of negro unskilled laborers.

Free people of color are given little consideration. They like the poor whites were the despised and rejected of men in the old régime. Their weaknesses are portrayed at considerable length. No attention is given to their contribution to the life and labor of the old South. The schools which they started under difficulty and the property which they accumulated are hardly mentioned. There is a casual reference to *Free Negro Heads of Families*. On page 172 the author says these folk originated nothing. Evidently he is unfamiliar with the literature on this subject and never heard of Banneker, Rillieux, Horton, Chavis, Bannister, and others who made valuable contributions in spite of proscription and opposition.

The work is copiously illustrated with pictures of buildings from the slave quarters to the mansion houses. These are inadequate in that very few of them, like Mount Vernon, show the lowly slaves' quarters which are necessary for a complete view of the plantation life. He seemed to select the best to make out a good case for the South.

Emphasis throughout the study is economic and social. Professor Phillips has risen to high levels of historiography in his style and organization. The sources are exceptionally good and he has handled them well. There is improvement in this work over the author's *American Negro Slavery* in 1918. That work was disappointing even more than this in contrast to the scientific and dispassionate researches into southern life by the lamented late John Spencer Bassett and the distinguished William E. Dodd. These men's love of truth has enabled them to disregard sectional bias. No student of southern history can afford to miss *Life and Labor in the Old South*. He must keep in mind, however, that Phillips is a disciple of the color line and a staunch defender of the faith of the South.

WILLIAM M. BREWER

NOTES

The annual meeting of the Association will be held in Washington, D.C., from October 27 to 31. Judging from the extensive preparation now being made and from the interest manifested far and wide, the Director believes that this will be the most important conference in the history of the work. An account of the proceedings will be published in the next issue of this magazine.

At this meeting there is expected the usual attendance of prominent scholars of both races to present new facts and aspects of the fields in which they are working. In addition to this an effort will be made to expand the work by enlisting others who have not given it the support which it deserves. This will be, therefore, a convocation of a learned body and at the same time an assembly of friends devising ways and means for its promotion.

At this time friends of the effort will give serious consideration to the proposal to raise immediately \$10,000.00 to match a similar sum promised by a board on the condition that the people will contribute as much more. The board thus interested is willing to do much provided the public will do more. Here, then, is a challenge which friends of truth are expected to meet. With a little cooperation here and there it is believed that it can be done.

Another phase of the work to be given attention at this conference is the preparation of instructors by the Home Study Department. Clubs and classes desirous of studying the Negro have difficulty in finding properly informed persons to direct their efforts. Most persons who have been educated in the propaganda set forth in our colleges know nothing about the Negro, and the bias resulting therefrom is so pronounced that they impress one as not desiring to know.

Miss Jane E. Hunter, of the Phillis Wheatley Association of Cleveland, has set the fine example of organizing a large and enthusiastic class of both races under the direction of an instructor who has prepared himself by study in the Home Study Department. The class will meet at least once a week and will cover a definite assignment each time. The Director of the Association will lecture to the class near the end of the course to clear up difficult points which may arise.

In the furtherance of the same work in a slightly different way the Association and the Associated Publishers will bring out this fall

a number of timely and useful books. Among these are *The Negroes of Africa: History and Civilization*, by Maurice Delafosse, the leading French authority in African ethnology, a colonial official who obtained his information through thirty years of contact with the natives.

Another book long needed will also be supplied. This is *Plays and Pageants from the Life of the Negro*, by Willis Richardson, who has endeavored to present in a dramatic form suitable for children the achievements and strivings of the Negro from the earliest times to the present day. Some other books of like import are *Anti-Slavery Sentiment in American Literature* by Dr. Lorenzo Dow Turner; *The Negro Wage Earner* by Lorenzo J. Greene; *The Rural Negro* by Carter G. Woodson; and *The Negro as a Business Man* by J. H. Harmon, Jr., A. G. Lindsay, and Carter G. Woodson.

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